AUG0887
TN S T TENNESSEE ST UNIV PERIODICALS LIBR THE SHERROD LIBR JUL91 DO 3DS 214

The Nation.

September 20, 1986 $1.25; U.K. 85p

AP
2
.N37

EDITORIAL

FAT TUESDAY FOR LIBERALS

On balance, the early September primaries held on what the press hyperbolically called Super Tuesday were encouraging for the aggressive, liberal, populist constituencies of the Democratic Party. Representative Barbara Mikulski's victory in the Senate contest in Maryland and Bella Abzug's narrow win in a suburban New York Congressional primary showed that tough, smart women can outpoll cool, well-connected men in a race blessed with several highly qualified candidates. John Lewis's surprising success over Julian Bond in the Atlanta Congressional runoff a week earlier looks like an analogous phenomenon. Difficulties remain in all these districts, where the winners' victories over popular liberals have divided their natural bases of support. But the party is strengthened by the clear delineations of issues in these primaries, as it builds for an assault on Reaganism over the next two years.

In New York's contest for Senate, Naderite activist Mark Green's unexpected defeat of multimillionaire John Dyson amply illustrated the success of populist politics in the Democratic Party. Dyson was all over the media, with a $6 million campaign fund. Green managed to raise only $800,000 and relied on neighborhood organizing to get out his vote. Along with his money, Dyson also had the unofficial support of Governor Mario Cuomo, who in effect picked him to run against Green. No one knows what goes on in Cuomo's Thomistic meditations, but it certainly seems that he found it convenient for his presidential ambitions to side with Dyson's conservative, corporate base. Cuomo is entitled to his choice, but we hope Green's victory will remind him that opportunism has its limits, and that espousal of liberal principles could help his own candidacy, as well as elect candidates as good as Green.

CHIEF REHNQUIST?
Herman Schwartz

UNWEDDED BLISS
Katha Pollitt

PINOCHET RAMPANT
Cynthia Brown

FAME
Jean-Christophe Agnew

AN INSTANT 60s CLASSIC
Stuart Klawans

HI-TECH HORROR
Andrew Kopkind

IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT

AN UNENDING WAR BETWEEN TWO DESPOTS

MANSOUR FARHANG

As the sixth year of the Iran-Iraq war comes to an end, the prospect for a settlement seems hopeless. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini continues to demand the ouster of President Saddam Hussein as a condition for negotiation, and Saddam Hussein appears determined to remain in power at all costs. During the first eighteen months of the conflict, when Iraq occupied part of Iran, Khomeini asked for an unconditional return to the status quo, while Saddam Hussein sought a military victory. In June 1982, when Iran recaptured virtually all its territory, the clerical rulers in Teheran debated the question of whether Iranian forces should pursue the Iraqi troops into their own country. After some hesitation Khomeini sided with the proponents of expansion and thus sealed the course of the war.

The Iraqi occupation of Iran had compelled the revolutionary regime to channel its energies into expelling the invaders. The psychological atmosphere of this widely popular mobilization tremendously benefited the religious extremists, who regarded the export of the Islamic revolution as their primary foreign policy objective. Since then the militarization of the state has steadily increased the extremists' base of support within the regime. When Iraq invaded Iran in September 1980, there were only 7,000 Revolutionary Guards and no irregular militias. Today there are 200,000 Guards and about 350,000 militiamen, who are generally more zealous than the clerics who lead them. The Islamic regime claims that an effort is under way to recruit another 300,000 men to be sent to the front before the end of the Persian year, next March 20.

(Continued on Page 244)

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

AGAINST ALL DOUBT

New York City

In his inimitable style and with his usual arrogance, Alexander Cockburn finds it suspect that I gave *Against All Hope*, Armando Valladares's moving prison memoir, a good review in *The New York Times Book Review* ["Beat the Devil," July 19/26]. Cockburn thinks it is merely because Valladares was a Cuban political prisoner that I was moved by his book, and he cites one man's negative opinion, Earl Shorris's review in *The Nation* ["To Be a Hero in Our Time It Is Necessary to Write a Book," May 10], as proof that it is a poor and untrustworthy account.

He ends with what he thinks is the final touch: *The Nation*'s reviewer, as well as I, left out "the fact" that Valladares "worked as a police officer in the Batista regime."

On July 17, I spoke with Armando Valladares, who was here in New York. Valladares has strongly condemned this statement as a blatant lie, which emanated originally from the Cuban secret police. If he had been a member of Batista's secret police, he points out, he would have been shot immediately—as were most in that group. Instead, the Castro government appointed him to a responsible position in a government ministry. The charge was first published in a pro-Castro magazine in Spain, at the moment when international pressure was developing to free Valladares. The Cuban government released forged documents—as they did when they tried to falsify his medical records—which had his birth date, eye color and other vital information wrong on the supposed "proof" of a government police card.

Valladares is in the process of suing two journalists, in Greece and in Paris, for libeling him, and he notes his intention to sue any others who slander his reputation with such false stories.

It should be apparent that even if an individual was a member of the Batista camp, that in no way would justify the unspeakable tortures occurring in Castro's prisons, which have been confirmed by scores of witnesses. As Nat Hentoff has written, "There are few countries in the world where prisoners of conscience [including the Marxist Ariel Hildago] are treated as vindictively and savagely as Cuba." Writing in a recent issue of *The New York Review of Books*, former *Nation* editorial board member Aryeh Neier speculates on the reasons why those who care about human rights have paid so little attention to Cuba. He refers to the "foolish twists of political logic" that allow the Cockburns of the world to apologize for Castro's repression.

Neier ends by expressing the hope that the right kind of pressure might cause Castro to ease up on the repression against his countrymen. He writes: "Loud and sustained criticism of the Cuban government as an enemy of human liberty and dignity would be a different matter . . . if it came from those who have earned credentials in struggles against death squads and disappearances in El Salvador and Guatemala, and against other abuses in client states of the United States." That protest, he suggests, just might "help some victims of its system."

Cockburn regularly speaks out about *contra* abuses in Nicaragua or the Pinochet record in Chile. But when it comes to Castro's Cuba, where human rights abuses are as widespread as in any nation on earth, he writes only to cast doubt on the testimony of witnesses to torture. One can only conclude that Cockburn supports the tortures carried out by the left-wing dictators whose policies he favors. This should not be surprising. Anyone who regularly offers Cuban and Soviet police disinformation to his readers as "fact" should have little credibility. It is sad, indeed, that the once vital liberal weekly *The Nation* thinks there is nothing wrong with allowing such allegations to appear in its pages.

Ronald Radosh

REVOLUTION SEEKS CONDO/FORGER

New York City

Alexander Cockburn may be in error when he writes that Armando Valladares was a "police officer in the Batista regime." While preparing to write about the Valladares book for *The Nation*, I came upon the same accusation. When the Valladares case first began to be noticed, the Castro government published several documents indicating that Valladares had been a policeman before the revolution. Valladares argued that the documents were forged, claiming that he was born in 1937, making him too young to have been a member of Batista's political police during the period indicated on the published documents.

To check the facts before writing the piece, I contacted the Cuban government through its mission to the United Nations. The Cubans were glad to help. We talked by telephone several times and met twice at the mission. In our first phone conversation the Cubans said they would "ask to Havana for the proof." We agreed to meet in ten days, at which time the proof was to be given to me.

On my first visit to the mission I talked with a press officer who chewed on a cigar and wondered aloud about my "sincerity." After about an hour he gave me several photostats of documents, describing each one as he took it from a small manila envelope. The *coup de maître* was a birth certificate. "Here," the press officer said, "the proof you asked for. He was born in 1936, *treinta y seis*. He is a liar, the whole book is lies. He was never paralyzed." Then he invited me to come back in ten days for even more proof.

It was a pleasant visit. We found out that we are neighbors in Manhattan. We discussed real estate. The revolutionary point of view on real estate in Manhattan is that rents are too high.

On my second visit the press officer was joined by the First Secretary. The First Secretary is more charming than the press officer: he does not sit so close, and he does not aggressively put the smell of his cigar stub in your face. He spoke about the Valladares book in terms of the drug problem in the United States. Because my mind is not as agile as that of the First Secretary, I was unable to make the connection. I asked about human rights instead. The press officer became angry. "What human rights?" he demanded to know. "The man was in prison!"

"Do you mean that a man in prison has no dignity?" I asked. "No rights?"

The First Secretary intervened with a smile. "Of course, of course," he said. Then he admitted that there had been some abuses early in the revolution and assured me that they had all been cleared up and Cuba now had model prisons. He followed this with further proof of the criminal activities of Valladares—photostats of newspaper stories printed at the time of his arrest. And, again, the *coup de maître*, the birth certificate.

I said that I thought the birth certificate was a forgery, pointing out that the word *seis* ("six") was darker than the rest of the type and that it was misspelled. Instead of *seis*, there was an extra *e* at the end ("seise"), as if the word *siete* ("seven") had been changed to *seis* by an incompetent.

The First Secretary answered angrily: "Do you think we are devils? Why would the government of a country do all this against one insignificant man? And also we have films of Valladares walking around his hospital room while he says he was paralyzed, secret films, pictures that could be made in the dark."

By then, it all seemed silly, a waste of time. The literary value of the book was not enhanced, the veracity was not diminished. At the time of his arrest Valladares was charged with terrorism, not with having served in the Batista police. I did not include the accusation in the piece because it seemed dubitable and irrelevant. All I had found out in my weeks of investigation was that the revolution needs a condo in Manhattan and a forger in Havana.

Earl Shorris

COCKBURN REPLIES

Glen Ellen, Calif.

I think Ronald Radosh was "moved" by Armando Valladares's book largely because it allowed him to get paid by *The New York Times* for dashing off another anti-Castro diatribe. Radosh is a professional anticommunist, with the tunnel vision that goes with that trade. There are plenty of accounts, far more convincing than the ill-written jumble that constitutes Valladares's "recollections,"

(*Continued on Page 258*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 243, Number 8

LETTERS
234

EDITORIALS
233 Fat Tuesday for Liberals
235 Spies and Summits
236 *Chief* Rehnquist? *Herman Schwartz*
237 Honk for America *Daniel Charles*

COLUMNS
238 Minority Report *Christopher Hitchens*

ARTICLES
233 Iran-Iraq Conflict: An Unending War Between Two Despots *Mansour Farhang*
239 *That* Survey: Being Wedded Is Not Always Bliss *Katha Pollitt*
242 Pinochet Rampant: The U.S. Options Narrow in Chile *Cynthia Brown*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
249 Braudy: The Frenzy Of Renown: Fame And Its History *Jean-Christophe Agnew*
252 Winn: Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism *James Petras*
255 Castle: Gilbert Green: The Real Right Way To Dress for Spring *Stuart Klawans*
257 Films *Andrew Kopkind*

Drawings by Monica Incisa

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors,* Elsa Dixler, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor,* Katrina vanden Heuvel; *Literary Editor,* Elizabeth Pochoda; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Maria Margaronis; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Chief,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Vania Del Borgo, Judith Long; *Editorial Secretary,* Marpessa Dawn Outlaw; *Interns,* Viken B. Berberian, Nicholas W.F. Targ (Washington), Ibtisam S. Barakat, Robin Epstein, Mitchell Horowitz, James L. Ledbetter Jr., Mary Jo Neuberger, Katharine A. Schmidt, David E. Vann Jr.; *On leave,* Kai Bird, Katha Pollitt.

Departments: Art, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance,* Mindy Aloff; *Fiction,* Terrence Rafferty; *Films,* Andrew Kopkind; *Lingo,* Jim Quinn; *Music,* Evan Eisenberg, David Hamilton; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Defense,* Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Kai Bird & Max Holland (*Capitol Letter*), Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeepers,* Tanveer Mall, Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Director,* Stephen W. Soule; *Director of Development and Publicity,* Micah L. Sifry; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Assistant Advertising Manager,* Neil Black; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* Randall Cherry, Mitchel Cohen, Sandy McCroskey, Richard Snyder; *Nation Associates Director,* Nancy Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen; *Publishing Consultant,* Phillip Frazer.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc. Directors: Arthur Carter, Hamilton Fish 3rd, Victor Navasky. © 1986 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation,* Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Subscription Price*: One year, $45; two years, $81. Add $7 per year for postage in Canada, Mexico; $13 per year for other foreign. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation,* 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

EDITORIALS.

Spies and Summits

Made mad by the possibility that one of its own was caught up in the machinations of Soviet *Realpolitik*, the American press went into a Kremlinological frenzy as uncontrolled as any such seizure since Francis Gary Powers bailed out over Soviet Central Asia a quarter-century ago. Is the detention of *U.S. News & World Report*'s Moscow correspondent, Nicholas Daniloff, an act of retaliation for the arrest of a Soviet employee at the United Nations in New York? Is there a rogue K.G.B. element on the loose? Is a dissident Stalinist faction in the Politburo sabotaging the ruling group controlled by Mikhail Gorbachev? What did Gorbachev know, and when did he know it? Is the whole affair, like the U-2 incident, a manufactured monkey wrench to thwart the superpower summit? Or is it merely pre-game posturing designed to soften up the U.S. team?

We should be accustomed by now to the use of spying—and charges of spying—to manipulate cold war politics. What appears to be a heavy-handed Soviet frame-up of Daniloff does not prove, as some editorial writers would have it, that Russians are indecent and Americans are not.

The Sherrod Library
East Tennessee State University
Johnson City, Tennessee 37614
SEP 19 1986
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Both sides in the dirty diplomatic game are capable of dishonor, or worse.

This raises the generally ignored question of why the F.B.I. chose to set up the apparently guilty Gennadi Zakharov on the eve of preparatory negotiations for a Reagan-Gorbachev meeting. The last time the Bureau hauled in Soviet U.N. employees who, like Zakharov, lacked diplomatic immunity was in 1978, and the Russians retaliated by picking up Francis Crawford, Moscow representative of the International Harvester Company. The F.B.I. said it had been on Zakharov's case since 1983. Why arrest him at this particularly delicate moment?

A second question: Assuming the President is telling the truth and Daniloff is not a spy, why did the Russians choose him as a bargaining counter for Zakharov? If the K.G.B. wanted to trade spies, why didn't it arrest one of the real ones it has on its surveillance list? One possibility is that the Soviet officials didn't like the kind of independent, critical journalism Daniloff sought to practice. Another possibility—and that is all it is—is that on the eve of his departure from the Soviet Union, one of Daniloff's sources (known as Misha) promised him some newsworthy material on Afghanistan. Being an enterprising reporter, he rushed into the trap. If that is what happened, the Russians' perverted use of the term "spy" may ironically turn out to be the equivalent of the U.S. Justice Department's prosecution of Samuel Morison, the Navy analyst who was convicted under the espionage act for leaking photographs to *Jane's Defence Weekly*.

In a time of maximum distrust between the superpowers it is important to ventilate even the most Byzantine theories. The slew of spy stories in recent years has made good copy, but they essentially constitute a sideshow to the central drama of East-West relations. Purloined documents are rarely as vital as the keepers of the secrets claim. Even if the classified maps allegedly found in Daniloff's possession were the genuine article, their publication in *U.S. News* would hardly have threatened Soviet security. Gennadi Zakharov's feeble attempt to buy $1,000 worth of classified material from a Guyanese employee of a defense contractor, who had gone to the F.B.I. when Zakharov first approached him three years ago, and to whom the Bureau had given the documents to entrap Zakharov, was a trivial gambit in the great game of superpower politics. Better to consign such incidents to Robert Ludlum novels than let them interfere with the search for peace.

Chief Rehnquist?

The almost daily revelations of examples of Justice William Rehnquist's deep hostility to civil rights would ordinarily be enough to kill a nomination for any public office. Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds was denied a short-term promotion in the Reagan Administration partly because of a civil rights record that is not much worse. Yet Rehnquist's nomination to a lifetime position as Chief Justice of the United States may sail through. Many senators think that since Rehnquist is already on the Court, his promotion will not change the vote count and will therefore have little impact. Nothing could be more wrong or shortsighted.

First of all there is the obvious symbolism of the choice. The Court is in the forefront of the nation's quest for justice and liberty. Its mission, in Justice Lewis Powell's words, is to afford "protection [to] . . . the constitutional rights and liberties of individual citizens and minority groups against oppressive or discriminatory government action." Justice Rehnquist's record on and off the Court has been one of consistent opposition to every effort to provide such protection. To elevate to leadership someone with such a uniquely hostile record to the fundamental mission of the institution is to mock and disparage that mission. It amounts to saying to the nation, and indeed to the whole world, for whom the U.S. Supreme Court has been a model, that we don't take that mission seriously.

The symbolic effect of the appointment is increased by the fact that the Chief Justice speaks for the Federal judiciary, as well as the Court, to Congress, the legal profession and the nation.

There are also tangible considerations. The Chief Justice assigns the writing of opinions when he is in the majority. Like his predecessors, Rehnquist will probably write the most important opinions himself and will probably take on a large number of them. (He reportedly writes easily and quickly.) In the past, when he has spoken for the Court in a decision restricting someone's rights, he has used sweeping and often vague language, as in a recent case refusing to recognize a right to privacy against electronic tracking devices. The scope and ramifications of such opinions are broad and difficult to confine.

Conversely, on the rare occasions when Rehnquist has joined his colleagues in upholding someone's rights—and invariably these have been decisions in which the other eight are unanimous—he has defined the right narrowly, as in a recent case involving the rights of illegitimate children to child support. Rehnquist has set something of a record for lone dissents in decisions upholding civil rights. Given the opinion-assignment power wielded by the Chief Justice, Rehnquist is likely to indulge himself far less in such largely ineffectual gestures, and instead join the majority, writing the opinion himself or enlisting a kindred conservative.

The role of assigning opinions gives the chief power over the other Justices, whose place in history once they ascend the Court is determined by when and what they write. Warren Burger was said to have used his power to punish Justices whose votes had displeased him.

As chief, Rehnquist's influence will be greater with new Justices than with those now on the bench. Because he may serve as Chief Justice for from ten to twenty years, at least five new Justices will join the Court during his reign, and probably more. No matter who appoints them or who they are, they will feel the power of the Chief Justice, particularly in their early years. Moreover, some Chief Justices, such as William Howard Taft, influenced appointments to both the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lower Federal judiciary and the Supreme Court itself. Given Rehnquist's activist history, he may well emulate Taft.

Finally, the Chief Justice heads a vast administrative apparatus: the Federal judiciary. He designates the members of special judicial bodies, including the Temporary Emergency Court of Appeals and the secret Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act court. He also presides over the Judicial Conference, a policy-making body which proposes and evaluates rules and legislation affecting the Federal courts. He appoints the membership and staff of the conference and of its twenty judicial committees. These groups play a significant role in the administration of justice in this country, for they deal with matters such as class-action rules, discovery, probation and sentencing. The importance of this authority is magnified by the Chief Justice's role as the spokesman to Congress on these and other legislative matters affecting court administration.

The power of the Chief Justice of the United States may not be visible, but it is very real. The Rehnquist nomination should not be dismissed as a minor shift in the Court's seating arrangement. The lifetime leadership of the third branch of our government deserves the closest scrutiny.

HERMAN SCHWARTZ

Honk for America

The Army stops at nothing when it comes to fighting terrorism. This month it begins deployment of its newest weapon in the struggle to beat back car bombers and saboteurs. Squads of geese will go on patrol, keeping vigilant watch over a variety of military sites throughout West Germany.

Maj. Gen. Victor J. Hugo Jr. (no relation to the French novelist) got the idea from a television program describing how geese have protected the Ballantine distillery in Scotland since 1959. Hugo, who commands the Army's 32nd Air Defense Command, responsible for all American antiaircraft weapons in Western Europe, apparently concluded that protecting guns and missiles in Europe should prove no more daunting a task than protecting whiskey in Scotland. After sending Capt. David Thomas on a reconnaissance mission to inspect the Ballantine geese firsthand, General Hugo ordered military bases under his command to be surrounded by the noisy birds, which make a racket when anyone approaches, alerting sentries.

In due course, officers of the 32nd Air Defense Command bought eighteen trial geese from Ralf Schuchmann, a West German farmer. Schuchmann, according to a report in the U.S. military newspaper *Stars and Stripes*, uses turkeys to guard his geese. Turkeys would probably work just as well to guard missiles, admitted Army spokesman Maj. Philipe Soucy, but they cost more than geese.

Officers of the 32nd Air Defense Command then started an intensive research program to "develop an optimized deployment concept" for the animals, said public affairs officer Maj. Dennis Prevost in Darmstadt, West Germany. They scientifically experimented with different sizes of pens and numbers of geese to ascertain the proper male/female ratio and the nature of a goose's concept of territoriality. Beginning this month, the Army will post 900 of Herr Schuchmann's geese, 750 of them female, at installations throughout West Germany.

According to Army calculations, geese are extraordinarily economical. A goose costs about $25, finds its own food, doesn't need to be trained, and lives twenty-five to thirty years. Geese were used with great success in Vietnam, said Major Soucy, to guard bridges against guerrilla attacks. Moreover, a goose "can't be seduced with gifts," as dogs sometimes are, he said.

Had General Hugo asked the Dutch for advice, however, he might have abandoned his proposal. Twenty years ago the Royal Dutch Army embarked on a similar experiment with goose patrols. According to Lieut. Gen. G. C. Berkhof, now chief of staff at NATO's Allied Forces Central Europe headquarters, the Dutch trials with Geese Security Squads (GS^2s) "went badly wrong."

An elderly Dutch major general, remembering that geese warned the Romans of an attack in 387 B.C., decided in the early 1960s that geese might alleviate manpower and financial problems in NATO's central region. General Berkhof confessed that he was skeptical at first. "A war record of saving the Forum once in two and a half centuries did not seem impressive to me at that time," he said. But his commander ordered him to press forward anyway with the Goose Operational and Strategic Effectiveness Study (GOOSES). General Berkhof, who admitted that his tale gets a bit lost in "the arcane world of acronyms," then drafted a manual covering Geese Command, Control and Communications, Organization, Operations, Navigation and Security (GC^3O^2NS, or GOONS); Goose Operators Advanced Training (GOAT); and the GS^2 Backup Force, normally consisting of "an enthusiastic retired infantry officer armed with a whistle and a rubber truncheon."

In the course of routine inspections this officer noticed that the birds were producing red, balloonlike droppings, some of which "were ejected with an explosive sound," said Berkhof. The anomalous droppings turned out to have been caused indirectly by some of the soldiers, who, "in a supreme effort to keep the beasts quiet, had fed them bubble gum."

The Royal Dutch Army eventually abandoned the project. The geese tended to cluster in only one part of their defensive perimeter, neglecting the remainder. The desertion rate was high, said Berkhof, and "not even an exemplary public execution [by strangling] could reverse the trend." Finally, "the geese were absolutely useless in an NBC [nuclear, biological and chemical] environment." At the conclusion of the test program, however, the geese demonstrated "their most suitable military side." According to General Berkhof, they "tasted quite delicious."

DANIEL CHARLES

Daniel Charles is a research associate for European affairs at the Federation of American Scientists.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

This week I got my copy of *Quotations From Chairman Ron*, a handy, fresh compendium of Reagan howlers that was put together by Morton Mintz. Mintz is an excellent reporter for *The Washington Post*, and his effort goes right up on my shelf, taking an honored place next to *Reagan for Beginners*, by David Smith and Melinda Gebbie; *There He Goes Again: Ronald Reagan's Reign of Error*, by Mark Green and Gail MacColl; and *Reagan Speaks*, by Paul D. Erickson. In this corner of my library I can readily put my hand on almost every damnfool remark, cretinous simplification, historical falsehood, fatuous self-contradiction, "deniable" racist innuendo, pig-ignorant anecdote, sly misrepresentation and senile discourtesy ever uttered by the village idiot now in occupation of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. This little retrieval system is, you might think, enough for my simple needs as a *Nation* columnist. And yet, and yet . . . With the unappeasable dissatisfaction that is the mark of my kind, I crave just one more book. It could be fat or it could be slim, but it would have to say what the volumes above do not say. It would not dwell on Reagan the klutz or Reagan the ignoramus. It would make the point that hasn't been made in six years of fixed press conferences and stage-managed interviews. Ronald Wilson Reagan is not a hapless blooper merchant. He is a conscious, habitual liar.

Even the reporters who cover the President, and who get together to submit the regular "Reaganism of the Week" that adorns the bottom of Lou Cannon's column in *The Washington Post* every Monday, are a trifle shy about what stares them in the face. Cannon himself, who has seen more of the man than most, has gone no further than to say, "More disquieting than Reagan's performance or prospects on specific issues is a growing suspicion that the President has only passing acquaintance with some of the most important decisions of his Administration." That hardly counts even as a euphemism. In fact, the whole concept of a "Reaganism" is an affectionate collusion with the notion of a genial oldster who's a bit out of his depth. The White House managers can live with that idea. Why, it even attracts sympathy. Many voters of all ages are sure *they* would fluff if they had to make speeches, meet foreign potentates and face the allegedly adversary press.

But there is a difference between a lie and a slip, and you don't have to be a Boy Scout to notice it. On November 29, 1983, Reagan told Israeli Prime Minister Yitzak Shamir that he himself had assisted in the liberation of the Nazi death camps. On February 15, 1984, he repeated this claim to Simon Wiesenthal. On March 3, 1984, Cannon wrote a column confirming that both Shamir and Wiesenthal had heard the preposterous claim. Shamir had even retailed the story to the Israeli Cabinet, an incident corroborated by the Cabinet Secretary, Dan Meridor. In *The Nation* for March 4, 1985, Alexander Cockburn made some pithy comments on the claim in the light of Bitburg. Just after his column went to press Reagan told a group of foreign journalists: "Yes, I know all about things that happened in that war. I was in uniform for four years myself." Even the minor detail is a lie here: Reagan's war service was notoriously confined to the First Motion Picture Unit of the Army Air Corps at the Hal Roach studios in Hollywood, where he never donned a uniform.

Now, it is one thing to say you took the cliffs in Normandy when you were throwing up in a landing craft a hundred yards from the beach. In the American Legion posts that display Reagan's grinning photograph, feats like that (and amazing feats of valor in Indochina) are boozily exhaled every night of the week. And ever since *Henry V*, it's been allowed and expected of the veteran that "He'll remember, with advantages, what deeds he did that day." But Reagan's boast to Shamir and Wiesenthal is not the pardonable "embellishment" (Cannon's term) of an old fart long past his best. It is an insult to the victims whose moral credit he is trying to appropriate. It is an insult to those who did risk their lives. And it is a lie. In fact, given the certainty of detection, it almost counts as a pathological lie. According to some experts, pathological liars will pass a polygraph test because they don't know the difference between truth and falsehood. If only Reagan would submit as willingly to the polygraph machine as to urinalysis. But there are clear limits to his willingness to share in the tribulations he imposes on others.

If you bear the Shamir distinction in mind, it becomes easier to read the numerous blooper anthologies. Reagan may not know the difference between Bolivia and Brazil, and may get a laugh for not knowing, as many in the audience secretly think, "Who's counting?" That might be written off as a blunder. But to say that South Africa "has stood beside us in every war we've ever fought" is not to mistake South Africa for France, say; it is to make a false claim and hope that nobody notices. Which is to say, it is to lie. To say that "North and South Vietnam had been, previous to colonization, two different countries" is to show a fantastic, almost incredible, ignorance and stupidity. To claim that he has just had a message "from Pope John Paul, urging us to continue our efforts in Central America" is to lie.

I don't want to seem pompous by insisting on this distinction, but it is an important one. And liberals and satirists have often overlooked it. Of course, all politicians bend and stretch the evidence. Of course, some politicians are know-nothings and vaguely proud of the fact. But the Reagan presidency has been a sort of experiment in the limits of mendacity, made even more objectionable by its presentation as a "wing-and-a-prayer" inspired amateurism.

Don't be discouraged from getting Morton Mintz's book (available at the low, low price of $2.95 from 3022 Macomb Street N.W., Washington DC 20008). But don't fall for the forgiving *Saturday Night Live* version of Reagan as a bumbling dotard. He's a dotard all right, and a bumbler too. But liars don't merit the indulgence that is reserved for dotards and bumblers. How can you tell when he's lying and when he's just making it up? No easy answer here. A rule of thumb is that when he's lying his lips move.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

THAT SURVEY

Being Wedded Is Not Always Bliss

KATHA POLLITT

In a less conservative era, an academic study projecting a modest decline in the percentage of college-educated white women who marry might have sparked a round of journalistic applause: "Good News About Marriage: Finally Women Can Afford to Wait for Mr. Right," for instance, or "Despite Heavy Pressure From Pop Psychologists, Women Still Say No to Men Who Chew With Mouth Open." In fact, in a less conservative era "Marriage Patterns in the United States," by David Bloom, Neil Bennett and Patricia Craig, might not have got much media attention at all, but that, to put it mildly, is not the sort of era we are living in.

What really appeared on the cover of *Newsweek* was a graph showing that as single women grow older their "chances" of marrying descend as precipitously as the tracks of the Man Who Skied Down Mount Everest. "Are These OLD MAIDS?" demanded *People* over photographs of Diane Sawyer, Sharon Gless, Donna Mills and Linda Ronstadt. "A Harvard-Yale Study Says That Most Single Women Over 35 Can Forget About Marriage." To a steady funereal drumbeat, a parade of contrite professional women has been marched across the national consciousness:

"I think I was 22 until I was 38."

"Men have become an obsession with me."

"I feel like my mother's finger is wagging at me, telling me I shouldn't have waited."

Actual women have allowed themselves to be quoted saying those things. Talk about letting down the side.

Of course, not all single women are weeping into their newly purchased copies of *Smart Women, Foolish Choices*. Many are simply furious. "The study reinforces the view that women over 30 are desperate and powerless in their relationships with men. Ours not to choose but only—hope, hope—be chosen," said one outraged friend of mine. "It's a real put-down," said another. "It's saying, You wanted independence? Well, you got it, and the joke's on you." That is indeed the message that the media is using the study to convey. But is that what the study says? Are its findings so dire?

Basically the study plots the relation between two facts: one, during the postwar baby boom each year's crop of newborns was larger than the one the year before; and two, women tend to marry "up"—men two or three years older than themselves and at least as well educated—while men tend to marry "down." Thus, a woman born in 1955 is looking for her mate in the smaller pool of men born in 1953. There aren't enough of them to go around to start with, and the longer she waits, the fewer there are. By 30, a white college-educated woman's likelihood of marrying—that is, marrying up—is one in five; by 35, it's one in twenty. And the situation for black women is even worse.

The "man shortage" is thus really an "older man shortage," and a temporary one at that, given that after the baby boom each year brought fewer births than the year before, so a woman born in 1965, say, can have her pick of older men, if that's what she wants. But why assume that today's 35-year-old woman will scorn today's 33-year-old man? Good question. In fact, the number of marriages between older women and younger men is on the increase. There are other problems with the study as well. As the researchers keep telling reporters, their findings are based entirely on census data. For reasons best known to themselves, they interviewed no college-educated single women, and thus have no idea how many want to marry, think they want to marry but fall in love only with Greek sponge divers, are contentedly cohabiting in nonmarital bliss, are gay, hate the very thought of marriage, or just don't care one way or the other.

The study is just what its authors say it is: an exercise in demographics, not desire—and rather old-fashioned demographics at that, for it recognizes only two categories of women, single and married. Thus, for statistical purposes I count as a single even though I've been living monogamously with the love of my life for six years, only one year short of the duration of the average American marriage.

DRAWINGS BY MONICA INCISA

Katha Pollitt will be writing a series of articles on feminism, culture and related topics for The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And I am far from alone; as marriage rates have declined, live-together rates have soared. On a societal level, that means that "single" and "married" are no longer such useful classifications. On a personal level it means that would-be-married baby boomers can take heart: when live-togethers, lesbians and alone-by-choicers are removed from the statistical pool of singles, the prospects brighten considerably for those who remain. So far, only *Mademoiselle* and *Self* have pointed out that rather obvious bit of math. No wonder the researchers keep insisting that their findings are being blown way out of proportion.

So why the fuss? The study projects, after all, that eight out of ten white college-educated women will marry. Since in past generations nine out of ten did so, what we are talking about here is a decline that virtually disappears when one factors in the voluntarily unmarried. That is surely a flimsy basis on which to urge sensible adult women to beat their breasts for having spurned a blind date with Aunt Hilda's best friend's son's college roommate fifteen years ago, or for being so romantic or so practical or so ambitious or so frivolous or so—feminist? Could that be the word we are looking for?

Here is another set of statistics. Married women earn $626 a week for every $1,000 earned by men; single women who work full time earn $910. Wives describe themselves as less happy than do married men or single women (only single men are more dissatisfied), and they are much more likely than single women to be clinically depressed. As many as one in seven women have been raped by their husbands; two-thirds have been beaten at least once. Despite the tremendous influx of married women into the work force, men do only 6 percent more housework than they did twenty years ago, and the husbands of women who work outside the home pitch in only slightly more than the husbands of housewives. All of which helps to explain why, according to an upcoming *Woman's Day* survey, only 50 percent of wives say they would marry their husbands again.

And here is yet another set. A woman marrying today has a dead even chance of finding herself in divorce court. In California a divorced woman's disposable income immediately dives by 73 percent; a divorced man's rises by 42 percent—and California is a community-property state. Although both the domestic demands of marriage and its implied promise of lifelong security encourage a woman to put her career on hold, only 15 percent of divorcing women are awarded alimony or rehabilitative (interesting word) maintenance. The average allotment in New York State is $4,000 a year. Nationally, the average court-awarded child-support payment is $34 a week—a ludicrous sum, but only half of ex-husbands bother to pay it in full. Perhaps most alarming, although women are overwhelmingly their children's primary care-givers, a man who pursues a custody suit has an even chance of winning. The fact that he works proves he is a stable citizen and a good father, while a mother is caught in a double bind: if she works, she's neglectful; if she doesn't, she's a parasite.

This, then, is the institution to which today's single professional women are being urged to flock for happiness and fulfillment. Is it any wonder they're taking their time?

Viewed against this background of dismal facts, the study looks positively cheerful. What it reveals is not that single women are too busy plotting corporate takeovers to pencil "get married" into their Filofaxes (for all the hoopla about female yuppies, there are still only 60,000 women in the entire country who earn more than $75,000 a year, as against 1.15 million men); it's that for the first time in history large numbers of women have enough economic independence to look very closely at the candidates for their hand, and the kind of marriage they are offering. The stereotype of prosperous but desperate 35-year-olds could not be more wrong: desperate is knowing that you have to marry and stay married to survive.

So, you are probably asking, if the study contains only no news or good news, who's buying all those copies of *How to Get Married in 90 Days*? Is not the most obvious fact of social life in New York City the enormous number of intelligent, pleasant, attractive single women who would like to have a serious relationship but haven't had a date since New Year's Eve, 1983? Yes, but so often where women are concerned, the good news is also the bad news. It is indeed a cause for rejoicing that large numbers of women can reject the traditional hierarchical marriage, in which women barter domestic service and emotional submission for economic support and social recognition, and can hold out for a marriage that promises intimacy and equality. But that doesn't mean that those women will find one.

Then again, it never did. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the brouhaha surrounding the study is that it is universally regarded as describing a bizarre new development. In fact, for at least one hundred years there have been more educated, independent women than there were men who wanted to marry them. The silk-bloused single professional of the 1980s is the great-granddaughter of the bicycle-skirted New Woman of the 1880s and 1890s, who horrified pundits and fascinated novelists from H.G. Wells to Henry James. Then, as now, the blame for her unmarried state was divided between demographics, which made millions of women "superfluous," and feminism, which spoiled them for the "sacrifice" of marriage. Thus, the most important thing to note about today's single professional is that one hundred years ago—or fifty years ago—she would very likely have been unmarried too. It's just that there are more of her now, and unlike the New Woman, she has a sex life, which upsets a lot of people.

It's comforting, perhaps, to see oneself as part of a historical tradition instead of as a mere statistical bulge. But the deeper implications are disturbing. America, after all, has had a full century to get used to the idea of egalitarian marriage and female ambition and all those other daring Gay Nineties notions. But if the study tells us that women are no longer dependent on marriage for sex or a home or a set of nice dishes, it also tells us that men still want wives who will put husbands first, and that marriage as an institution still favors that desire. Public policy, which could help defuse this conflict, reinforces it. The United States has no

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

national day-care system, and is virtually alone among Western industrialized nations in having no legally mandated maternity leave—let alone paternity leave or sick-child leave. We don't even have public nursery schools. The culture of professional work, too, is structured according to the traditional male life pattern. If careers tacitly assume a support system in the form of a stay-at-home spouse, too bad for women. If the 20s and early 30s, when professionals are scrambling their hardest, happen to be women's prime reproductive years, too bad again.

In a society committed to sexual equality, single professional women would be applauded as pioneers. They are breaking down all sorts of ancient prejudices, from the double standard to the connection between femininity and submissiveness, poverty, dependence, powerlessness and incompetence. In the current climate of antifeminist backlash, however, they are loose cannons on the deck. Clearly, the hope in many quarters is that they will give up this careers nonsense if it is made sufficiently arduous, and get back under male "protection" where they belong—even though that protection, in terms of a guarantee of lifelong support, no longer exists.

This is the underlying message of a variety of seemingly disparate contributions to the public discourse. While Sylvia Ann Hewlett, in *A Lesser Life*, blames the women's movement for the absence of social supports for working mothers, as though the feminist goal of shared parenting were a piece of utopian lunacy, my old classmate Deborah Fallows, in *A Mother's Work*, portrays women who use day care as shallow materialists, as though stay-at-home moms could waltz back into the workplace whenever they wished. While the Reagan Administration does its best to scuttle affirmative action and thwart comparable worth for pink-collar women, their white-collar sisters find themselves mysteriously "topping out," hitting the "glass ceiling" of covert discrimination. Abortion is under attack. Nonmarital sex is under attack. Infertile women are selfish for having put careers before pregnancy, as though no man ever insisted on postponing fatherhood; but women who beat the clock by having babies without husbands are selfish too.

Who would have thought that the modest demands of women for decent jobs, equal access to education, shared domestic responsibilities and all the rest would evoke such a torrent of censure? But then who would have thought that in 1986 women would have fewer methods of contraception to choose from than they had ten years ago?

The media coverage of the study, if not quite the study itself, is just another crack of the backlash. Women can't "have it all." Women must "choose": a career or a husband. By focusing on demographics, which cannot be changed and are no one's fault, commentators avoid asking hard questions about the social context that gives the demographics whatever limited significance they have—questions about the structure of work and marriage and child rearing and society, and about the ways in which those work together to confront both single and married women with a dazzling array of Catch-22s.

Questions about—what a thought—men. It is curious

INFORMATION SOCIETY - VOL. 4, NUMBER 1/2 1986
Guest Editor: ROB KLING

Democracy in an Information Society

A Special Issue of the Information Society Journal examines whether and to what extent information technologies can help or undermine democratic processes. Some analysts will argue that microcomputers can provide individuals and small groups with new information processing abilities. But have the use of millions of microcomputers in the United States in the last five years extended democratic arrangements? Others will point to the power of multinational firms of shaping the actions of States and businesses. Still others will argue that managerial hegemony drives organizational action. This special issue examines the relevance of these images for understanding the political dimensions of computerization.

Based on the analysis by Theodor Sterling, Simon Fraser University and critical discussions by a group of scholars: Craig Calhoun, North Carolina-Andrew Clement, York University-David Holzman, University of California, San Diego-Rob Kling, University of California, Irvine-Kenneth Laudon, N.Y.U.-Theodore Lowri and David Lytel, Cornell-Felix Montes, Arizona-Herbert Schiller, University of California, LaJolla-Theodor Sterling, Simon Fraser University-Jon Turner, N.Y.U.-Fred Weingarten, Washington

For Information:
The Information Society, a Journal
Crane, Russak & Co. Inc. (A member of the Taylor & Francis Group)
3 E. 44th St, NY NY 10017. Editor-in-Chief, Joe Becker (213-829-6866)

THE CHALLENGE OF THIRD WORLD CULTURE

A Conference at Duke University
September 25-27, 1986

PARTICIPANTS:
Eqbal Ahmad (Pakistan)
Dennis Brutus (South Africa)
Achmat Dangor (South Africa)
Ariel Dorfman (Chile)
Jean Franco (United States)
Tomás Gutiérrez Alea (Cuba)
Fredric Jameson (United States)
Elias Khoury (Lebanon)
George Lamming (Barbados)
Masao Miyoshi (United States)
Kenzaburo Oe (Japan)
Nélida Piñon (Brazil)
Elena Poniatowska (Mexico)
Edward Said (United States)
Ousmane Sembene (Senegal)
Kidlat Tahimik (Philippines)
Ngugi wa Thiong'o (Kenya)

Center for International Studies
2122 Campus Drive
Duke University
Durham, NC 27706
(919) 684-2765

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the study offers no figures on men. Ostensibly, that is because of the "poor quality" of the data, and perhaps that really is the reason. By its silence, however, the study appears to accept the all-too-popular assumption that a college-educated heterosexual man's "chance" of marrying is a solid 100 percent right into the grave. Demographically, maybe so, but marriage does, after all, take two. Why assume that baby boom bachelors are God's gift to single women rather than those women's rejects, the men least able to deal with women's raised expectations of marriage?

If our magazine moralists applied themselves to those issues, they might discover that what keeps today's college-educated women unmarried isn't numbers. It's sexism. □

PINOCHET RAMPANT

The U.S. Options Narrow in Chile

CYNTHIA BROWN

Chile has become a problem for the Reagan Administration. After having supported the regime of Gen. Augusto Pinochet for four years, the State Department has spent the past eighteen months sending signals of its impatience for change to Santiago. But the signals have been intended as much to shape the character of the opposition as to undermine Pinochet, and their effect has been ambiguous. Now developments in Chile—most recently the September 7 imposition of the state of siege—as well as increasing pressure from Republicans in Congress are forcing the Administration to reconsider its tactics.

U.S. policy in Chile was overtaken by events long before September 8. The Administration has watched with dismay, for example, as its preferred vehicle for opposition has lost political ground and another grouping has risen to leadership. The National Accord for the Transition to Full Democracy, an informal alliance based on a statement of principles signed in August 1985 by rightist, centrist and center-left politicians, was weakened earlier this year by internal disputes between its far-right member, the Movement for National Unity (MUN) and the center-left parties. Those disputes focused on two issues: whether the Democratic Popular Movement (M.D.P.), the Marxist political front of Communists and Almeyda Socialists, should be allowed to join the accord or discuss revisions of its text; and whether the accord parties should advocate immediate changes rather than assume that the transition would begin in 1989, when Pinochet's current term ends.

Since April that debate has been moot, however, owing to the formation and successes of the National Civil Assembly, a pluralist front composed of representatives from most sectors of Chilean society and created in response to popular impatience with the National Accord. The assembly, which represents an active membership of more than 3 million, planned to conduct general strikes until Pinochet falls. In July it called the first one, which paralyzed Santiago. The government reacted by jailing fourteen strike leaders, and Pinochet announced that he intended to remain in office for a second term, until 1997. During the strike 19-year-old Rodrigo Rojas de Negri, a Chilean-born resident of the United States, was burned to death by soldiers, an incident that became an international *cause célèbre*.

Although U.S. officials demanded an honest investigation and prosecution of the case, Pinochet decided instead to tough it out. In recent weeks he has launched an international publicity campaign highlighting the alleged threat of left-wing terrorism in Chile and claiming that security forces had discovered hidden weapons sufficient to stage an insurrection. This effort to deflect attention from human rights, indeed to justify overriding them, led many observers in Chile to fear, even in August, that he would proclaim a new state of siege.

As a result of these developments, the Chilean situation became fluid, but not in the way the Administration had hoped. Like many Chileans, the State Department had expected the National Accord to serve as a bridge to the armed forces—bypassing Pinochet and negotiating for a transition. It also had hoped that the parties to the accord would come to an agreement with the armed forces that would prevent Chile's substantial Communist Party from having any influence in the transition [see Brown, "Chileans Are Gaining on Pinochet," *The Nation*, November 23, 1985]. But the National Civil Assembly was formed out of a recognition that without mobilization—that is, without cooperation between the political center and the M.D.P.—the National Accord's proposal for negotiation would be a dead letter. Without broadly united pressure the armed forces would not break from Pinochet and enter into negotiations.

The pro-mobilization analysis was vindicated by the success of the general strike in July and by signs of dissent from the air force, navy and police commanders. All three, who, along with an army general, compose the governing junta under Pinochet, distanced themselves from Pinochet's decision to rule until 1997. Air force commander Gen. Fernando Matthei is reported to have disagreed strongly with Pinochet over the combined-forces' predatory raids on some thirty poor neighborhoods in April. Matthei and Adm. José Merino, the navy commander, are said to favor a presidential election with multiple candidates for 1989, rather than the single, junta-selected candidate authorized by the regime's Constitution. And when Pinochet suggested a state of siege in early May, the junta was not willing to impose one. Although the army still appears to support Pinochet solidly—and the army is the force that counts the most—these rumblings were heartening to the opposition.

Nevertheless, the State Department has determinedly downplayed the importance of the National Civil Assembly,

Cynthia Brown recently returned from a trip to Chile on behalf of the human rights organization Americas Watch. This article was prepared with the research assistance of Chilean journalist Sergio Baeza.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its tactics of mass action and the support those tactics have received from the majority of the National Accord parties. In July, when I spoke with U.S. Treasury Department officials responsible for developing loan policies, I was told that the State Department had not informed them of the assembly's existence, much less its role as organizer of the general strike. A U.S. official in Chile recently told me that the assembly had developed its general-strike plan only after it had been "taken over" by the left—a deliberate misrepresentation of the body's makeup and the reasons for its formation. The Administration's attitude seems to stem from the assembly's pluralist character, particularly the presence of members of the Communist Party, Chile's second-largest party, after the Christian Democrats. The Communists' participation in a broad, nonviolent, democratic movement tends to complicate the Administration's portrayal of the party as one dedicated to terrorism. The party has begun a publicity offensive, of sorts, to emphasize its flexibility. In July the pro-government daily *El Mercurio* published a statement by a party spokesman that the Communists would accept a transition government even if it was headed by a military man, so long as Pinochet himself was removed; more recently, the C.P.'s secretary general declared the party's willingness to negotiate with the armed forces as part of a united opposition front.

The National Civil Assembly's pluralism symbolizes what politicians across the spectrum say freely—that the Chilean left, including the Communists, cannot be ignored or ideologically excluded from a new democracy. U.S. politicians on the far right, such as Senator Jesse Helms, who visited Chile in July to give strident support to Pinochet, find the specter of a pluralist Chile appalling; cooler heads in the State Department merely find it unacceptable, and they criticize the Chilean opposition for not providing a viable alternative.

In a recent article on Chile in *Foreign Affairs*, neoconservative scholar Mark Falcoff wrote, "When all avenues of political devolution in a Third World society are closed, the moderate center is the first casualty." Despite the growth of the Communist Party in the past few years and the activity of marginal sabotage groups, this thesis is highly debatable with respect to Chile, where the Christian Democrats are still the most important single party and where, as repression continues, opposition parties of the right, center and left have coalesced around several points of agreement. Most of the rightist parties have conceded that popular mobilization is necessary, while the left realizes that it must not insist on proposals unacceptable to the armed forces. But Falcoff's thesis reflects a concern among U.S. conservatives that Pinochet's continuation in power may be benefiting Chile's Marxist left to the point where a transition might not be able to ignore the M.D.P.

Falcoff, a Chile specialist and resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, recently became chief foreign affairs aide for Latin America to Senator Richard Lugar, chair of the Foreign Relations Committee, reflecting Lugar's growing sense of urgency about Chile. Lugar helped insure the Senate's overwhelming passage of a resolution opposing the participation of the tall ship Esmerelda, which served as a torture center in 1973, in the celebration of the Statue of Liberty's centennial. Following the murder of Rodrigo Rojas, Lugar sent a forceful letter to Interior Minister Ricardo García, criticizing a wide range of abuses. Although Senate Democrats such as Edward Kennedy and Tom Harkin have long concerned themselves with Chile, Lugar's interest in the issue has encouraged more Republicans to voice concern, and, with Kennedy, Lugar has shown a disposition to develop a bipartisan consensus

PINOCHET HITS BACK

The state of siege represents Pinochet's failure to control the opposition by ordinary repressive means. His desire to take this step had been rumored on and off for five months, as the opposition became more assertive and there were hints of dissent within the armed forces. The September 7 attack, closely following the government's alleged discovery of a massive arsenal of illicit weapons, has united the armed forces behind Pinochet. The state of siege makes mass protests impossible and allows the general to justify virtually anything as part of an antiterrorist response.

At this writing, September 9, there are still questions as to who mounted the sophisticated operation and how the assailants all managed to escape. The press—all pro-government—is publishing official accusations against a former exile, César Bunster, 28, the son of a diplomat, who himself worked at the Canadian Embassy in Chile. Chileans who know Bunster and his family say there is no past evidence to suggest he would have assisted in such an attack. This, plus the fact that no armed group in Chile has claimed responsibility (despite early reports to the contrary), has created doubts as to the official version. Apparently the U.S. Embassy does not share those doubts; on September 8 a high-level embassy officer reportedly declared that Chile's principal sabotage group, the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front, was responsible and that the incident was foreseeable given the alleged discovery of the "terrorist" arsenal last month.

Doubts also exist about the arsenal, however. Some fifty tons of heavy weapons and ammunition, allegedly brought in by boat to mount a nationwide insurrection, were uncovered in an area where witnesses claim to have seen army helicopters and personnel just a few months earlier. Investigative reports by the independent newsmagazine *Cauce*—suspended from publication in August as a result—suggest that the army itself placed at least some of the weapons so the "discovery" could be spectacular. A lengthy official statement claimed the weapons could have been destined for use by labor unions and other social sectors, thus extending the government's antiterrorism warning to the democratic movement as a whole. Now that warning has been translated into the execution of an opposition journalist and orders of arrest for dozens of human rights, religious, political and student leaders, many of whom [illegible] in hiding.

C.B.

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on disengaging from Pinochet. Thus, the Administration, faced with Pinochet's tenacity, has also come under pressure from one of its own supporters to formulate a tougher and more consistent policy.

The Administration has been wrestling with how to go about it. U.S. criticism the past year has been strong though selective, and the Administration deserves credit for sending a competent new ambassador to Santiago, as well as for condemning Chile at the United Nations last March. In July, after the murder of Rojas and Pinochet's declaration that he would stay in power until 1997, the Administration sent Robert Gelbard, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, to Chile to talk with opposition, government and military figures. That visit was followed, in August, by one from Gen. John Galvin, chief of the U.S. Southern Command, a military man whom Pinochet would take seriously. Predictably, Gelbard's message of support for democracy was coupled with an equally strong message that the United States would not welcome a unified opposition that included the M.D.P. Such a position virtually gives Pinochet license to use any means to suppress the Marxist parties, in full knowledge that Washington is as uncomfortable with the M.D.P. as it is with him.

Of Galvin's visit much less is known. But one version of what was discussed was made public through the release of documents allegedly taken from an army general who had been kidnapped by an armed sabotage group. Those documents, apparently minutes of a meeting between four high-level military officers and Galvin, suggest that Galvin offered asylum for Pinochet in the United States if he would leave office within two months and permit the armed forces to oversee a transition to limited civilian rule. Whether the documents are authentic may never be known—the State Department issued a strong denial that they were—but they have heated the debate over U.S. intentions in Chile.

The state of siege will intensify that debate still further. But if the Administration is serious about disengaging from Pinochet, it has an obvious option, and one that is supported by many Republicans in Congress. In November the United States will vote in the World Bank on a $250 million structural adjustment loan, or S.A.L., for Chile. The determination on the S.A.L. has particular importance because the U.S. vote will be watched closely by private banks considering making loans worth about $2 billion to Chile, which are essential to servicing the foreign debt and financing the imports needed by the country's business and consumer elite. The private banks might interpret a U.S. vote against the S.A.L. as a signal for them to back out.

For the past year officials at the Treasury Department have been recommending what Assistant Treasury Secretary David Mulford termed "a review of our policy" on multilateral loans to Chile. The State Department initially resisted that approach, although during the state of siege of 1984-85 the Administration had abstained on loans and had used that leverage successfully. On July 30, however, when Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, testified on Chile to a House banking subcommittee and was asked what he would do if the United States had to vote on a loan that day, he said, "I would recommend a no vote." He softened that spectacular statement, saying that the decision could change if Chile made progress is the area of human rights, thus leaving Pinochet some room to maneuver. Under pre-state of siege conditions, the promulgation of electoral laws offering limited participation to centrist and rightist parties—a key U.S. proposal in recent years—or some indication of intent to prosecute in the Rojas case might have been sufficient to change the Administration's mind. But the Rojas case has been stalled by the harassment and jailing of key witnesses. And now, with the state of siege, the vote takes on unprecedented importance as a sign of whether the Administration backs Pinochet's fight to retain power or the right of Chileans to be rid of him. □

Unending War

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

Iran's advantages in the war are its large population (46 million and growing at the rate of more than a million a year) and the high motivation of its irregular fighters, who play a more significant role in the war than do the 300,000 soldiers of the Iranian Army. Iraq has clear superiority in all types of sophisticated weaponry, but it is disadvantaged by its small size and population (14 million) as well as by low morale all the way to the top. Iran has captured nearly 60,000 Iraqi troops on the battlefield, indicating that the Iraqi fighters have a tendency to surrender rather than risk their lives. The belligerents' offsetting advantages have yielded a situation in which neither has been able to score a decisive victory.

Even though geopolitical calculation and greed have shaped the orientation of the superpowers and their allies toward the war, neither the origin nor the prolongation of the conflict can be blamed on anyone but the belligerent regimes. Those industrial countries capable of using their influence with either nation to encourage a settlement have not done so. Indeed, they do not seem eager for the war to end. For the first time since World War II both the capitalist and communist strategists of global politics have taken a nonideological view of a war between two important Third World countries. The United States, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the European countries have declared their neutrality in the conflict. Israel and Syria sell arms and ammunition to the Islamic Republic, even though they are contemptuous of what the ayatollahs symbolize. They are simply functional allies who want to see the Iraqi Baathists humiliated. Since the outbreak of the war nearly forty countries have sold arms to Iran and Iraq; ten

Mansour Farhang is a professor of politics at Bennington College and co-author, with William A. Dorman, of U.S. Press and Iran: Foreign Policy and the Journalism of Deference, *to be published in 1987 by University of California, Berkeley, Press.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of them have supplied weapons to both sides, some covertly. Most recently China joined in this traffic. Iran has purchased $300 million worth of military equipment from Beijing in the past six months.

Washington's view of the war was summarized by one State Department official when he said, "We don't give a damn so long as the Iran-Iraq war carnage does not affect our allies in the region or alter the balance of power." Henry Kissinger has made the same point with more sarcasm: To serve "the ultimate American interest," he said, "both sides should lose." Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's Defense Minister, has stated Kissinger's position more straightforwardly: "We don't want a resolution of this war." That consideration has guided the Israelis in making periodic, indirect arms sales to Iran since the fighting began. Tel Aviv wants to keep the war not only stalemated but also as destructive as possible.

Because it is illegal for Israel to transfer American military equipment to a third country without Washington's permission, one wonders why there has not been an official call for an investigation, given all the evidence that Israel has been violating the law. In April, when the Justice Department charged seventeen people, including a retired Israeli general, Avraham Bar-Am, with conspiring to sell more than $2.5 billion worth of U.S.-made weapons to Iran, not a word of concern or criticism was uttered in official Washington. According to U.S. authorities, the planned deal included antitank missiles, air-to-air missiles, five C-130 cargo planes, forty-six A-4 Skyhawk fighter-bombers and eighteen F-4 Phantom jet fighters. United States Attorney Rudolph Giuliani assured the press that the presence of Israeli citizens among the accused did not mean that the Israeli government was in any way involved. Giuliani did not explain what other source could have provided the alleged conspirators with such an extensive arsenal.

The Soviet leaders initially saw the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war as an opportunity to form an alliance with the Islamic Republic. They also hoped that the war would divert attention from their occupation of Afghanistan. Although the Soviet Union had a treaty of friendship with Iraq, Moscow provided Iran with arms and cooled its relations with Baghdad. However, once the Ayatollah's anticommunism proved to be unbending (particularly with regard to the Tudeh Party, through which the Russians attempted to subvert the Islamic regime), Moscow resumed arms sales to Iraq.

Until quite recently the Iranian mullahs believed that time was on their side, that a war of attrition would eventually topple Saddam Hussein and pave the way for Shiite fundamentalists in Iraq to seize power. That view was based on the assumptions that Iran would continue to export enough oil to finance its war efforts and that Iraq could be prevented from doing so. It was in pursuit of the latter objective that in 1982 Iran made a deal with Syria, Iraq's foremost Arab enemy, under which Syria shut down the Iraqi pipeline that ran through its territory on the way to the Mediterranean coast. In return Iran agreed to export 100,000 barrels of oil a day to Syria at discount prices and 20,000 barrels free. Over the past four years Syria has incurred a $1.5 billion debt for Iranian oil. In May, upon the expiration of the oil agreement between the two countries, Iran asked for payment as a condition for renewing the deal. Syrian President Hafez al-Assad responded by threatening to begin reconciliation talks with Iraq. Iran yielded, and the Iraqi-Syrian negotiations did not get off the ground.

Iran's expectation of an Iraqi economic collapse turned out to be illusory, however. The fear of Iran's revolutionary expansionism compelled the Arab states of the Persian Gulf region to give Iraq generous economic aid—nearly $30 billion in grants and loans since June 1982. Furthermore, Iraq has managed to increase its oil production over the past three years. The opening of a new pipeline across Saudi Arabia has enabled Baghdad to compensate for the shutdown of the pipeline across Syria and the loss of Fao, its port at the northern tip of the Persian Gulf, which was closed on the first day of the war. Since January, Iraq has been producing 1.68 million barrels a day, compared with Iran's 1.7 million. Traditionally, Iran produced twice as much oil as Iraq.

For their part, the Iraqi rulers have long regarded the stalemate as a military and economic disadvantage. Consequently, they have concentrated on building strong defenses and minimizing casualties. They have also followed a counterstrategy of blockading Iran's main oil terminal on Kharg Island, located 125 miles from Iraq, in an attempt to curtail Iran's exports and pressure Teheran to accept a settlement.

Last year, following effective Iraqi air raids on Kharg Island as well as on the oil tankers approaching or leaving the island, Iran decided to make Sirri Island, 300 miles farther down the coast, the main terminal for loading crude oil. A fleet of tankers transported the oil from Kharg to Sirri, which was believed to be beyond the reach of the Iraqi Air

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Force. On August 12, however, to the astonishment of the Iranians, Iraqi pilots in six French F-1 Mirages dropped laser-guided bombs on tankers anchored off Sirri and on the terminal itself. A number of ships were hit, and an Iranian supertanker was consumed in flames. The Sirri Island oil terminal was temporarily put out of commission.

The disruption of Iran's oil flow has aggravated an already critical situation arising out of the country's inability to sell oil at a profitable price. Oil accounts for about 95 percent of Iran's export earnings, and the drop in world prices has drastically reduced Teheran's financial capacity to import enough food, pharmaceuticals, raw materials and other essential products. Also, since oil is sold in U.S. dollars and Iran buys heavily from countries whose currencies have recently increased in value against the dollar, Iran has been paying more this year than last year for the same products. In 1985, Iran bought only $74 million worth of goods from the United States.

Iran's oil revenues in the first half of this year were $3.3 billion, compared with $8.2 billion in the first half of last year and $11 billion in the first half of 1982. Moreover, specialists maintain that one barrel of oil is now costing Iran as much as $6 to produce, which includes the high cost of war-risk insurance. That means a 60 percent decrease in revenues. Iraq's revenues, by contrast, have fallen 30 percent, from $5.1 billion to $3.57 billion.

The fear of losing its hard currency revenues altogether forced Iran to agree to a Saudi demand to exempt Iraq from the recent decision by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries to cut the cartel's oil production by 17 percent. The ayatollahs were also compelled to seek the resumption of natural gas exports to the Soviet Union after a seven-year hiatus. That move seems to have been linked to a serious effort by Iran to improve relations with Moscow. Yet neither the OPEC agreement to cut production nor improved relations with the Soviet Union can remedy the problems facing Iran's petroleum industry. In the first half of this year revenues of the thirteen OPEC states totaled $33.8 billion, compared with $54 billion in the first six months of last year. Iran has suffered the most of all OPEC members, and Iraq the least. Adding to Teheran's difficulties, the Saudis have systematically tried to steal Iran's oil customers by offering them discounts—an effort to reduce the country's oil income further and thus hamper its warfighting capabilities.

During the course of the conflict Iran has bombed selected maritime targets approaching or leaving the Saudi shores; it has also hit Kuwait at least twice. Such actions are intended to induce Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to restrain Iraq. In early August, Ali-Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian parliament, warned, "If Iraq is to buy weapons and attack our oil centers with oil money from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, we will hit them."

Iran has repeatedly attacked Iraqi economic targets as well as ships on the Arab side of the Persian Gulf in the hope of forcing Iraq to stop its bombing raids. Last month Iran again fired long-range missiles at Kirkuk and Baghdad and then offered to halt the reprisals if the Iraqis ended their attacks on Kharg and Sirri. Iraq rejected the offer and threatened to retaliate in kind. This latest outbreak of hostility could lead to the resumption of last year's "war of the cities," which saw the belligerents bombing each other's civilian areas.

The drastic decline in Iran's petroleum revenues, which is bound to increase the financial burden of the war, has produced no inclination toward a settlement. Instead, the rulers of Iran have hardened their rhetoric in recent weeks and seem to be preparing the Iranian public for an all-out offensive. Last month Mohsen Rezai, the commander of the Revolutionary Guards, claimed that Iran's "new strategy is to bring the war to a rapid end through the mobilization of resources and forces in the shortest possible time." Hashemi-Rafsanjani sought to project the same determination when he declared that "the Guards will prepare at least 500 newly equipped battalions." President Sayed Ali Khamenei's statement was more revealing: "We must break out of the stalemate, which is definitely harming us. There must be another blow like the Fao offensive." The latest call to "finish off" Saddam Hussein came from Khomeini himself. In an address to government officials and military commanders he said: "We should submit neither to imposed peace nor to imposed arbitration. We should continue the war until victory—and it is near."

Last year Iraq suffered two significant military defeats. The first was in February, when Iran captured the port of Fao. An estimated 300,000 Iranian troops are well dug-in on or near the peninsula, and Iraq seems to have given up the attempt to dislodge them. The second setback for Iraq took place in July, when the Iranian forces recaptured their border town of Mehran in the central sector of the Iran-Iraq front. The town had been occupied by the Iraqi Army since May of last year.

All signs indicate that Iran is planning a massive push against Basra, Iraq's second-largest city, fifty miles from Fao. The casualties from such an assault would be enormous. The roads to Basra are reportedly well defended, and Iraq's superiority in weapons, particularly in the number of aircraft and tanks, will make it extremely difficult for the Iranians to sustain their initial onslaught. And Iraq will certainly use poison gas again to stop the Iranian advance.

Iran does not appear to have the capacity to supply its troops for long in an offensive inside Iraq. Thus, the expected final push is unlikely to cause the fall of Basra; rather, in exchange for tens of thousands of lives Iran could conceivably extend its control a few more miles into Iraq. Such a dubious achievement would further drain Iran's resources and aggravate its already disastrous economic situation. The Iranian fundamentalists seem to believe that expansionist policies will help them solve their domestic problems. The ayatollahs are blind to the fact that the extension of their coercive apparatus will only produce more deprivation and frustration at home.

The Iran-Iraq war is absurd. It defies all rationality and violates every security and economic interest of the two countries. Over the past six years, many international mediators who tried to reach a compromise between the an-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tagonists came away perceiving the war as an example of morbid behavior in contemporary politics. The late Olof Palme, after making repeated trips to Baghdad and Teheran to initiate a settlement, likened the conflict to a plague that had to run its course.

Yet Ayatollah Khomeini and Saddam Hussein continue to rule their respective countries with impunity, and as with other national leaders in the Middle East, resignation or retirement is alien to their ethos and temperament. Today's rulers of the Middle East strongly resemble the caliphs and kings who ruled the region in the distant past. The contemporary despots have a greater capacity for repression, and they are no more concerned with human rights than their predecessors were. Automatic weapons and fighter bombers have replaced swords and horses, but the arbitrary and merciless exercise of power remains intact. New institutions and modern ideologies have had little impact on traditional political practices. The Marxist-Leninists in South Yemen, the monarchists in Saudi Arabia, the Baath-Socialists in Iraq and Syria, and the religious fundamentalists in Iran view dissent in their societies similarly. No citizen of those countries can criticize the government without risking arrest and torture.

The egos of Khomeini and Saddam Hussein are so infected with the fear of losing face in their tragic feud that anyone who questions the wisdom of continuing the conflict is dealt with ruthlessly. On May 16, Mehdi Bazargan, revolutionary Iran's first Prime Minister, and his associates were seized, blindfolded and beaten by state security agents because they had dared to sign a statement calling for a negotiated settlement of the war. In Iraq any criticism of the Baathist regime's conduct of the war is treated as treason. Thus, in spite of the intense unpopularity of the war in both Iran and Iraq, no nonviolent antiwar movement can emerge in either country. The brutal suppression of the war's critics at home is paralleled by incredible atrocities on the battlefields. Human wave tactics, poison gas, attacks on oil tankers and air raids on civilian targets have become commonplace. Both sides have endured horrible suffering. Perhaps a million have died, many of them civilians. Two million people have been made homeless. Material destruction is incalculable. Scores of border towns and villages are battered and lifeless. Major port facilities, pumping stations and important refining and petrochemical complexes have been bombed into ashes.

According to an informal report from Iran, a group of moderate clerics recently visited Khomeini in private and appealed to him to make peace with Iraq. Khomeini rejected the suggestion and said, "If you want peace with Saddam Hussein, pray for my death." Unfortunately, even the departure of the Ayatollah is unlikely to produce a settlement, unless he can take Saddam Hussein with him. The hatred of Iran's Revolutionary Guards and irregular militias is so completely directed at the person of Saddam Hussein that no successor to Khomeini would dare to negotiate with him. The end of the Iran-Iraq war can come only when both Khomeini and Saddam Hussein are removed from power, by natural or unnatural causes. □

(ADVERTISEMENT)

INSENSITIVITY TO ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE NATION

In *The Nation* March 1, their regular contributors Kai Bird and Max Holland, in a column properly scoring Reagan officials' coddling of Duvalier, found it necessary to resort to a hoary anti-Semitic "joke" about Rabinowitz and Rappaport as arsonists. Among the letters of protest *The Nation* received was mine, printed in their April 19 issue. I reminded *The Nation* that in 1867, when insurance companies tried to stop sale of fire insurance to Jews, precipitating a nationwide discussion pro and con, *The Nation* was among the publications that sided with the insurance companies. "Bad Joke" was the headline *The Nation* put over my letter, and I was willing to let it go at that.

On March 22, however, in its 120th Anniversary Issue, *The Nation* published an article by Gore Vidal, "The Empire Lovers Strike Back," which, in taking out after neoconservatives Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter, was smelly with anti-Semitism. Flooded with protests, *The Nation* April 26 and May 3 printed such letters by Joseph Wershba, Leonard Kriegel, Jack Stauder, Micah Morrison, Irving M. Levine, Floyd Abrams, Paul M. Weyrich, Evans Chan and Arthur Hertzberg. Appended to almost every letter was a vituperative comment by Vidal; the burden of his defense was that his "irony" had been misunderstood.

Particularly disturbing was *The Nation*'s "Editors' Note" (April 26), repeating that Vidal was guilty only of "the intentionally provocative idiom of irony" and that "irony should not be read literally." Irony? Where is the irony in Vidal's statement that "in the Middle East another *predatory people* is busy stealing other people's land in the name of an alien theocracy"? This is not criticism of the State of Israel or the government of Israel but a libel against the people of Israel, a "predatory people." This is anti-*Jewish*, anti-Semitic. In our pages we frequently criticize Israeli government policies, domestic and foreign, as do other Jewish periodicals and organizations. But Vidal is damning a people, not a policy. We could detail other evidence of anti-Semitism in Vidal's article, but we are more distressed by *The Nation*'s editors' failure to perceive it, even when so many alert readers so pointedly called attention to it.

Equally disturbing was the defense of his publishing the article by *Nation* editor Victor Navasky in *The New Republic* June 9 on the ground he wanted to raise "fundamental questions" about the American Jewish community's sensitivity to criticism of Israel. Vidal did not help.

—*Morris U. Schappes, editor, Jewish Currents*

The above reprimand appeared in the July/August issue of JEWISH CURRENTS . We admonished THE NATION as a devoted friend. Actually, during the past forty years of our existence our views and analyses of the world scene have closely paralleled THE NATION's, but our focus is principally with the world of Jews—after-effects of the Holocaust, betterment of relations with Arabs, blacks, and in fact with all the peoples on this troubled earth. Peace! No more wars! No more fascism! Reading JEWISH CURRENTS will be a memorable experience. Please subscribe!

SINGLE ISSUE: $1.25; USA one year $12, two years $22, three years $32. Order from JEWISH CURRENTS, Dept. N, Suite 601, 22 E. 17 Street, New York, NY 10003. Published by the Association for the Promotion of Jewish Secularism.

This advertisement was paid for by a NATION subscriber.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation Reprint Mart.

The Nation's 120th anniversary issue: Looking at the United States

The Nation asked writers and politicians from around the world to reflect on modern America for our historic 120th anniversary issue. Contributors: Margaret Atwood, Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, Benazir Bhutto, Willy Brandt, E.L. Doctorow, Christopher Hitchens, George Konrad, Jack Lang, Penny Lernoux, Michael Manley, Wang Meng, Margaret Chant Papandreou, Salman Rushdie, E.P. Thompson, Gore Vidal and Yevgeny Yevtushenko. The issue also contains Penn Kimball's analysis of the F.B.I.'s 60-year surveillance of *The Nation*. 120-page issue. **Note: Single copies $4 each.**

Fifteen Years of the Burger Court

What has the Burger Court meant for Americans? In the September 29, 1984, issue, awarded the A.B.A.'s Silver Gavel award, twelve prominent legal scholars examine this question, covering the Court's rulings on First Amendment rights, racial equality, national security, sex discrimination and eight other areas.

The Strange Correspondence of Morris Ernst & John Edgar Hoover, 1939–1964

Harrison E. Salisbury, the award-winning journalist, examines the correspondence between F.B.I. director J. Edgar Hoover and Morris Ernst of the American Civil Liberties Union. He reveals how Hoover exploited and debased Ernst's confidence and in so doing compromised the A.C.L.U.

Beyond Westmoreland: The Right's Attack on the Press

Walter Schneir and Miriam Schneir provide a valuable overview of the New Right's campaign against the media. They show how the Westmoreland trial fits into a strategy to curtail the independence of the press.

K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew And When We Knew It

Published on the eve of the first anniversary of the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007, this issue raises serious questions about the U.S. role in the tragedy. After a year of thorough research, author David Pearson concludes that U.S. authorities at the highest level knew the airliner was off course much earlier than they have admitted, and that the questions raised by the official versions of the story can only be resolved by a Congressional inquiry.

K.A.L. 007: Unanswered Questions

The August 17/24, 1985, *Nation* updates the ground-breaking K.A.L. story from the year before. David Pearson, John Keppel and David Corn analyze new Japanese radar data, examine a Nation Institute–sponsored review, by aviation experts, of the final airline transmission and describe the government's efforts to obstruct investigation.

Myths of the Middle East

This special issue of *The Nation* is devoted to breaking the logomachy jam in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by subjecting the emotion-sodden rhetoric that weighs down current thinking to a blast of fresh ideas.

Empire as a Way of Life

William Appleman Williams' brilliant analysis of America's life with an empire—and the implications of life without one—was the focus of this special issue that was distributed to the delegates at the 1980 Democratic National Convention.

Intervention

Under what conditions, if any, is military (or other) intervention ever justified? An entire issue of *The Nation* on the subject of intervention contains the papers presented at a Conference on Intervention, co-sponsored by *The Nation* and the Columbia University School of International Affairs.

Central America

Appearing just after the controversial Kissinger report in January 1984, the special issue on Central America offered a strong refutation of the Administration's views. The arguments still hold. Highlighted by Walter LaFeber's overview, William LeoGrande's analysis of the domestic political fallout and Peter Davis's compelling firsthand report on the Nicaraguan revolution today, the issue is one of the most urgent, informative and important in *The Nation*'s history.

Latin America: A Political Guide

An invaluable survey of thirty-three Latin American countries by Penny Lernoux, *The Nation*'s award-winning Latin America correspondent.

El Salvador

A compilation of *Nation* articles on Central America and El Salvador, including an early debunking of the famed "White Paper" by James Petras.

The Campaign to Smear the Nuclear Freeze Movement

Frank Donner offers a provocative analysis and thorough documentation of the outrageous attempts by right wingers in media, Congress and the Administration to discredit the nuclear freeze movement, charging that it is inspired and manipulated by the Soviet Union.

Nuclear Samizdat

What do Russians think about the nuclear arms race? Two prominent Marxist dissidents, historian Roy A. Medvedev and biologist Zhores A. Medvedev, provide the unofficial viewpoint with a clarity rarely found in the American press.

Disarmament: Covering the Unthinkable

In this special issue Richard Pollak takes a critical look at the media coverage of the indisputably most important issue facing mankind; Michael Kazin gives a brief history of the birth of the freeze movement; and David Corn presents a useful directory of organizations working on the disarmament issue.

Back Issues of The Nation

Back issues of *The Nation*, 1978 to the present (when available), are $3 each.

THE NATION REPRINT MART ORDER FORM

REPRINTS (each title)	Qty.	Name	Total
1-9: $3.00 ea.			
10-49: $2.00 ea.			
50-99: $1.50 ea.			
100-249: $1.25 ea.			
250 or more: $1.00 ea.			
BACK ISSUES $3.00 each		Date	
		Date	

N.Y. residents add appropriate sales tax _____

Total Enclosed _____

SEND TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

Mail check or money order to Nation Reprints, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. **Prepayment is required. All reprint sales are final.**

Foreign orders (including Canada): Add $1 per issue. Payment must be made with an international money order (no service charge) or from a U.S. dollar account (add service charge: Canada, $5; all others, $15).

NR8633

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

La Pomp Perdue

JEAN-CHRISTOPHE AGNEW

THE FRENZY OF RENOWN: Fame and Its History. *By Leo Braudy. Oxford University Press. 649 pp. $27.50.*

"He's back!" a *Newsweek* cover announced last May. The reference was to the recent public rehabilitation of Richard Nixon—the "newest Nixon"—but the breathless quality of the caption unwittingly evoked the advertising for Steven Spielberg's sequel to *Poltergeist*. And how apt. A figure once assumed to be permanently entombed in the sarcophagus of his political disgrace had not only raised its lid but was now capering impishly in the corner of the public eye: meeting foreign leaders, advising presidents, writing books and, yes, visiting the local Burger King. This, *Newsweek* told us, was news. After all, how many people would still buy a used reputation from Tricky Dick, yet how many times has he managed to find the psychic and economic wherewithal to refinance his checkered career? How does he rebound from his many humiliations, and, even more intriguing, why does he insist upon returning, like some benighted *Gong Show* contestant, to the mass-mediated degradation ceremonies of public life?

Some three years before the Watergate scandal broke open, Garry Wills asked those same questions in a brilliant book, suitably titled *Nixon Agonistes*. There, Wills traced Nixon's peculiarly mortifying mission of self-making to the marketplace liberalism of his nineteenth-century forebears. Seven years after Wills's biography appeared, the sociologist Richard Sennett pushed the explanation for Nixon's confessional politics further back, to the eighteenth century, situating it within a larger, almost epic story of the fall of public man. Nixon, it turned out, was but one among countless postrevolutionary Western politicians to have succumbed to the increasingly imperious bourgeois demand for the public display of private feelings. If anything marked Nixon off, Sennett argued, it was his intense and enduring *ressentiment* at being subjected to the same inquisitorial eye at the apex of his career that he himself had methodically focused upon others in order to get there.

Now, with the publication of Leo Braudy's new book, *The Frenzy of Renown*, we have an even larger historical map upon which to chart the curious trajectory of Richard Nixon's reputation. Subtitled *Fame and Its History*, the work sets out to recover the changing forms and features of renown in the West over the past 2,500 years. It is an ambitious book, to say the least, but sensible as the author is to the difficulties that inevitably beset a project of this magnitude, he has produced an admirably polished, dispassionate and illuminating account, one that deliberately raises as many questions as it answers. For Braudy means to challenge the seemingly timeless portrait of the quest for fame that philosophical moralists have long upheld, as well as the excessively presentist versions that sociological moralists have given of contemporary "narcissism." The search for public recognition is indeed an ancient one, he grants, but the character of the self to be recognized, the public from whom its recognition is sought and the conventions through which it is ultimately translated and framed are transitory and culture specific.

Having warned his readers of the time-bound peculiarities of renown, Braudy offers them a historical tour through the Western world's hall of fame, beginning in Greece, moving on to Rome, thence to the rest of Europe (chiefly England and France) and finally to the United States. If this itinerary sounds like the familiar, self-serving route of most Western history and civilization courses, the author reminds us that historians themselves "too often . . . think they are writing histories of politics or literature when they are in fact writing histories of political or literary fame." What most interests him is precisely this Western "style of self-serving" and its transformation over the centuries. A history of fame, then, is necessarily "a psychic biography of what it means to be public in Western culture."

Not surprisingly, Braudy begins his inquiry with the "longing of Alexander," the man whose "self-naming" placed him outside the dynastic genealogies and heroic standards of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. "Turning away from an identity supplied by the social order," Braudy writes, "Alexander opportunistically forges his name in a self-consciously staged combat with the past." It is the Romans who called him "Alexander the Great," but they moved the definition of fame yet farther away from dynastic ideals, attaching it instead to the model of civic culture. Both republican politics and imperial bureaucracy nurtured "talents of self-promotion and communication as much as talents of action and leadership." The result was a notion of fame more adapted to the "perfect public expression" of one's class values than to the Alexandrian desire to be unprecedented, "without context or cause."

Rome socialized and in a sense domesticated the Alexandrian "desire for personal recognition," whereas Christianity, according to Braudy, spiritualized it. For him, the story of Jesus of Nazareth is "first formulated as an explicit or implicit attack on the Roman self." Once the homiletic division between the things of Caesar and the things of God is drawn, a distinction between public and private is inaugurated that will henceforward challenge the assumption of a unified personhood and that, as a consequence, will haunt the anticipated satisfactions of public recognition. Thus Braudy finds the first fully developed critique of the theatricality of fame not in Plato or the Stoics but in St. Augustine. Yet as the cults of the saints and martyrs spread throughout Europe, he sees Augustine's despised "public theater of spectacle and extravagance" gradually turning into "a theater of spiritual example."

The proliferation of Christian imagery during the early years of the Church gives Braudy the occasion to introduce a new and crucial theme: the emergence of the artist and writer (along with their media) as a critical factor in the West's contemplation of renown. The author first broaches this theme in his discussion of Alexander's hostility toward his own publicist/historian Callisthenes, and then again

Jean-Christophe Agnew is the author of Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550–1750, *published by Cambridge University Press.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HUMAN SCIENCES PRESS, INC.

NEW

The AIR CONTROLLERS' CONTROVERSY

Lessons from the PATCO Strike

Arthur B. Shostak, Ph.D.
and David Skocik, M.A.

"The study is the most extensive that has been made of the dismissed controllers."
—William Serrin
The New York Times

"In this highly readable and insightful account, the authors take us inside the control towers, inside the negotiations, and inside the lives of the controllers and their families. It's all here: the stresses and the strategies, the pain and the blame . . . and some thoughtful reflections for the future."
—Albert Shanker
President
American Federation of Teachers

1986 274 pp.
0-89885-319-2 hard $34.95
0-89885-320-6 paper $15.95

Macdonald, Nancy

HOMAGE TO THE SPANISH EXILES

Voices from the Spanish Civil War

Preface by Mary McCarthy

1987 360pp.
0-89885-325-7 $26.95

Rubinstein, Sidney, M.A., editor

PARTICIPATIVE SYSTEMS AT WORK

Creating Quality and Employment Security

1987 186pp.
0-89885-338-9 $24.95

ISBN/Order No. Title Qty. Total

☐ Check enclosed (We pay postage and handling)
☐ Bill me (plus postage and handling) E16
☐ Charge my credit card
☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ American Express

N.Y. residents add 8¼% sales tax _____
Grand Total _____

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State ____ Zip ____

HUMAN SCIENCES PRESS, INC.
72 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011-8004 (212) 243-6000

in a brief section on religious iconoclasm, but he does not take up the issue in earnest until his narrative reaches the Renaissance. Then he argues that the end of the Middle Ages brought with it a new interest in portraiture, a "commerce in faces" that innovations in printing and painting, along with a revival in sculpture, served to intensify. The Renaissance conferred on fame a standard of visualization far more potent and durable than anything that the earlier dissemination of coins, statuary and icons had been able to effect. As a result, artists entered into a direct rivalry with their patrons, "furnishing models for monarchical authority," on the one hand, while on the other, "developing images by which inner life might be known more directly." They secularized and aestheticized Augustine's divided self, bequeathing to their posterity the very notion of a history of art and, behind that history, the portrait of the melancholy artist brooding over the nature of his audience.

All this, according to Braudy, prepared the way for "the democratization of fame," the title of his fifth, last and largest chapter, taking up half the book. Despite occasional return journeys to the Continent, the chapter also marks the Anglicization of the narrative. It is, for example, the Elizabethan dramatists' distinctively theatrical representation of kingship, he argues, that at least partially accounts for the overthrow of the monarchy so much earlier in England than in France. And that subversion of authority, together with developments in English political theory, "gave birth to the modern conception of a marketplace of fame in which all might sell their wares." The birth itself, however, occurs for Braudy in the eighteenth rather than the seventeenth century, for it was then that capitalism, the spread of literacy and social mobility were sufficiently advanced to convert aristocracy from a social to a stylistic category, to force the replacement of the artistic patron by the critic and, not least, to unleash a new phenomenon: fandom. From Thomas Chatterton to James Boswell, the eighteenth-century dialogue between artist and audience over the nature of creative authority and authenticity anticipates all the confidence games we currently associate with modern fame. Accordingly, Braudy locates the beginning of what he calls an "international European fame culture" in that century. The rest is history, in Braudy's special sense of a protracted and often agonizing exercise in social self-consciousness.

The eighteenth century is a decisive point in the book on a number of counts. For not only does the author's narrative break there but to some degree it breaks up, surrendering its linear, chronological structure in favor of an increasingly fragmented and anecdotal set of variations on the theme of a fame culture. In this, the book's form seems to replicate the rapidly multiplying features and functions the author finds in his subject and sources. "When each individual potentially has the storehouse of past attitudes and costumes to assemble as he might," he laments, "then we might think somewhat wistfully about ages past, in which the urge to fame was limited by class, money, and institutional setting—and the task of the historian of fame therefore much simpler." Despite these complications, Braudy attacks the problem of modern fame with relish and delivers a wealth of insights on a variety of related subjects, such as dandyism, avant-gardism, anorexia, suicide and the political cult of personality.

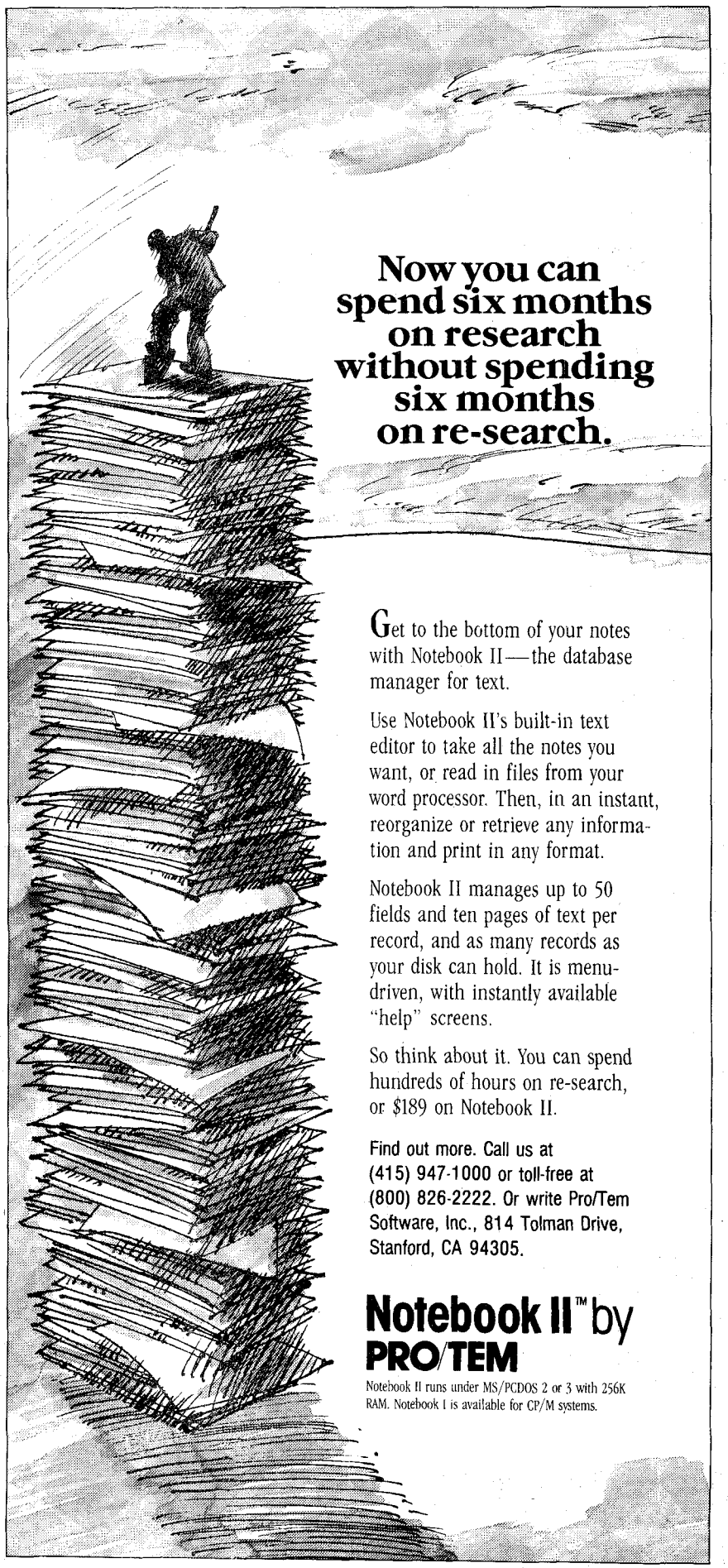
So brief a summary as this can scarcely do justice to this rich and suggestive work. Braudy's erudition is formidable, and the grace and intelligence with which he puts his immense range of sources to work make for a book of exceptional breadth and power. One is repeatedly impressed by his ability to move effortlessly from one analysis to another, whether it is an exegesis of Chaucer's *The House of Fame*, an iconography of Valázquez's *Las Meninas*, a decoding of Mathew Brady's Civil War photographs or a symbolic reading of Charles Lindbergh's flight. Indeed, what difficulties the book does present spring largely from its staggering wealth of information. As the pages accumulate, the weary and bedazzled reader is likely to beg off from any additional excursions in the crowded pantheon of Western culture, for the countless portraits, busts and character sketches have all begun to blur. The experience of reading *The Frenzy of Renown* thus re-enacts as much as it develops the author's argument about the gradual diffusion and confusion of modern fame. To his credit, Braudy's method is invariably one of careful distinctions and nuances, but 600 pages of such fine discriminations can dull even the most attentive sensibility.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Depending on one's point of view, Braudy's "gallery of emblematic figures" may also present more substantive problems. For instance, one has barely finished his thoughtful analysis of Milton's attitude toward fame before one realizes that Milton will effectively stand for the Reformation's encounter with renown. Braudy's methodological individualism thus scants Puritanism's impact upon our own attitudes toward publicity. And since that legacy includes a longstanding, patriarchal hostility toward the perceived effeminacy of public display, Braudy thereby misses an opportunity to examine the intersection (and contradiction) between the avowedly masculinist "longing of Alexander" and the almost equally ancient and visceral attack on female vanity, of which the contemporary critique of narcissism may be the most recent expression.

Beyond this, Braudy's method of psychic biography has a tendency to override his own best historicist inclinations, by projecting individualism back in time and marginalizing the forms fame took in folk and popular culture from gossip to song. By concentrating on the deeds and ruminations of those whom posterity has designated as famous, Braudy produces what is unavoidably a supply-side history of renown; hence his wistfulness as he confronts the bewildering proliferation of "documents" in the modern period, when the Keynesian demand-side of fame suddenly thrusts itself forward. Then, finally, he does explore the dialectic between performers and audience—the social relations of fame—by which they mutually "construct" each other. But insofar as this task edges him away from a thematic literary history and toward a more complex and, in many ways, refractory sociocultural history, Braudy is ill prepared to do more than speculate, albeit shrewdly, on the motives and functions at work.

There is one tantalizing point in the book where Braudy, following Garry Wills and to an extent Emile Durkheim, describes fame as a form of "social glue." But this proposition is never really pursued to the point where it would seem most relevant: the present, when ancestral fame has so obviously vanished in the glare of current hype. But then what would a Durkheim think of a social cement whose bonding powers appear less integrative than addictive—something to be inhaled rather


Now you can spend six months on research without spending six months on re-search.
Get to the bottom of your notes with Notebook II—the database manager for text.
Use Notebook II's built-in text editor to take all the notes you want, or read in files from your word processor. Then, in an instant, reorganize or retrieve any information and print in any format.
Notebook II manages up to 50 fields and ten pages of text per record, and as many records as your disk can hold. It is menu-driven, with instantly available "help" screens.
So think about it. You can spend hundreds of hours on re-search, or $189 on Notebook II.
Find out more. Call us at (415) 947-1000 or toll-free at (800) 826-2222. Or write Pro/Tem Software, Inc., 814 Tolman Drive, Stanford, CA 94305.
Notebook II™ by PRO/TEM
Notebook II runs under MS/PCDOS 2 or 3 with 256K RAM. Notebook I is available for CP/M systems.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than applied? At the same time, how else can we explain the seemingly limitless masochism of a *Newlywed Game* contestant or a Nixon or, on the other side of the proscenium, the overweening "urge to 'know'" that leads the voyeurs within us to batten, like so many Robin Leaches, on the life styles of the rich and famous? Drawing perhaps on his earlier work on film and narrative, Braudy wisely suggests that a famous person is "not so much a person as a story about a person," and that such stories furnish us the means by which we can organize and project the continuity of our lives. Whatever else may happen to us, we can at least stay tuned, even if it means watching *Saturday Night Massacre, Part IV*.

Such, then, may be the beginning of a solution to the mystery of Richard Nixon's return, for it is just as much our mystery as it is his. When the members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors gave him a standing ovation two years ago, they were in many ways applauding their own resurrection. Praiseworthiness is not necessarily newsworthiness, as *The Frenzy of Renown* proves, and like the fans they serve, fanzines like *Newsweek*, *Time* and *People* can take considerable pleasure in the knowledge that, by God, they still have Richard Nixon to kick around. As for Dick, he's never been trickier. Who else, after all, would have chosen as his first pit stop on the long road back that modern incarnation of Chaucer's House of Fame: Burger King—Home of the Whopper? □

Feasible Socialism

JAMES PETRAS

WEAVERS OF REVOLUTION: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism. *By Peter Winn. Oxford University Press. 328 pp. $19.95.*

What the Lynds' *Middletown* did for the study of community power, Peter Winn's *Weavers of Revolution* does for the workers' movement in Chile. Drawing on interviews with union and government officials and particularly with rank-and-file workers, Winn has produced a richly textured account of the organizing efforts that propelled the Chilean revolution forward.

Winn's method is essentially that of the political anthropologist: He focuses on the everyday relations, fears and calculations of a group of workers employed at a single plant, the Yarur textile factory. Relying on retrospective interviews and company records, he reconstructs the history of the enterprise from its founding in 1929 by a Palestinian entrepreneur, and describes the combination of paternalism and strong-arm tactics that characterized Chilean factory life before Allende came to power. Appalling wage levels were sustained at Yarur for a period of thirty years and several attempts at union organizing were roundly defeated through mass firings, with the active support of the state. Chile's much vaunted liberal democracy stopped at the factory gates.

Winn provides an insightful and comprehensive analysis of paternalistic systems of control, describing how physical coercion complements the use of personal favors. His discussion of conservatism among the workers is particularly useful. The product of repeated defeats as much as long-term socialization, labor conservatism often has a "pragmatic" basis: in a period when workers are weak and employers strong, it is generally safer to feign loyalty. Winn demonstrates how the removal of such constraints led some apparently conservative workers at Yarur to support radical action. His analysis of workers' behavior over a long period reveals the contradictory facets of working-class consciousness in a way that simple statistical research could not.

Winn's discussion of the dramatic shift from paternalistic rule to Taylorist work methods at Yarur (organized by a U.S. advisory team from Burlington Mills) brings out another source of working-class militancy. In 1962, both conservative and class-conscious workers joined in a bitter, extended strike that was ultimately defeated by the combined efforts of their employers and the democratic conservative government of Jorge Alessandri. Through massive

James Petras is a professor at SUNY Binghamton and the author of Latin America: Bankers, Generals and the Struggle for Social Justice, *forthcoming from Rowman and Littlefield.*

"Ken Light's photographs are as sympathetic as they are beautiful."
—JOHN B. LOENGARD, picture editor, *Life Magazine*

WITH THESE HANDS
Photographs by Ken Light
Essay by Paula DiPerna
Preface by Cesar Chavez

The hard life of farmworkers in the United States—migrant, seasonal, undocumented, and child laborers—is sympathetically portrayed in the photographs of Ken Light, and vividly described by Paula DiPerna.

"This is a rare book. It conveys, clearly, eloquently, and graphically, what it truly means to be among those who harvest our food, yet remain the most oppressed of workers."—DICK MEISTER, co-author, *A Long Time Coming*

"For years his camera has focused on workers and working conditions in the hope of raising public awareness . . . with his rich penetrating photographs."—*Photo Metro*

Includes lists of resources and organizations. 65 duo-tone photographs. 11"x8½" $9.95 paper

FOR CRYING OUT LOUD
edited by Rochelle Lefkowitz and Ann Withorn

Women and Poverty in the United States
Edited by Rochelle Lefkowitz and Ann Withorn

Explores the economic and social dimensions of women's poverty. Essays by prominent scholars and interviews with poor women.
$12.95 paper

The Pilgrim Press
132 West 31st Street
New York, NY 10001

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

firings, physical intimidation and intensive political harassment (the same tactics used by the Pinochet regime), the Yarur owners were able to regain total control over the factory. With the Taylor work system firmly implanted, productivity doubled, the labor force was halved and an employer's union was "elected." As Winn cogently argues on the basis of judiciously selected quotes from participants, it was the manner in which the national parties aligned themselves in such class conflicts that shaped workers' political allegiances—which helps to explain the enduring leftist electoral loyalties of a significant sector of the Chilean labor force. Almost all the periods of union activity in Chile coincided with periods of political upsurge on the left, and all ended badly as the center-led governing coalitions abandoned their electoral commitments and embraced pro-employer policies—until the ascent of the Allende government in 1970.

The centerpiece of Winn's story is his account of the struggle during the Allende years to unionize the Yarur textile firm and then to transform it from an authoritarian capitalist enterprise into a self-managed "liberated factory." He draws a number of important parallels between change at the level of the firm and socialist politics at the national level. The early 1970s saw the rise of a new generation of worker-leaders unfettered by past defeats, the products of the working-class culture of the urban centers or of growing rural radicalism. They were inspired and aided by Allende's national electoral campaign and the responsiveness of the Socialist and Communist parties, which created a favorable context for deepening the struggle. But there was also a fundamental divergence between the revolution from below (spontaneous direct action to transform the social relations of production) and the revolution from above (the incremental phased and ordered process preferred by President Allende).

Winn is at his best as he relates the debates and conflicts between these two forces through the passionate voices of the protagonists. In a very moving section, he describes the conflict between the workers' takeover of Yarur and Allende's adamant opposition to rank-and-file action against national capital. For the workers, there was "no going back." Having experienced power and recognition in the course of their unionization drive, they were in no mood to continue to submit to the humiliation and abuses of the factory's owner. But Allende, concerned with coalitions, gradual change and norms of legality, wished to control social movements and limit changes to accommodate deals with the elites at the national level. At Yarur, the workers' position ultimately won out over that of a reluctant President.

Once the workers had seized control of the Yarur mill, the transition to worker-managed "socialism" in one plant could begin. The workers of Ex-Yarur (as they renamed it) successfully combined democratic decision-making with sustained production and efficiency. Through a comprehensive system of co-management based on elections, secret ballots and frequent worker assemblies, the rank and file were able to control the process of production and distribution. Today, when it is fashionable to denigrate the Chilean experiment in the name of "feasible socialism" based on the virtues of the market, it is enlightening to read of worker representatives "with cotton dust still in their hair [sitting] in Amador Yarur's wood paneled boardroom together with government delegates, deciding how the indus-

"Anyone who wants to understand why South Africa is in turmoil should read..."*

CROSSING THE LINE

A YEAR IN THE LAND OF APARTHEID

WILLIAM FINNEGAN

Jerry Bauer

"In the most direct, human way it shows us life under apartheid, with all its cruelty and irrationality. William Finnegan saw apartheid as few outsiders do, teaching its victims in a 'colored' school, and he brings it to life with fascination."
—*Anthony Lewis

"A vivid and moving account.... It makes the evil of apartheid manifest." —Tracy Kidder

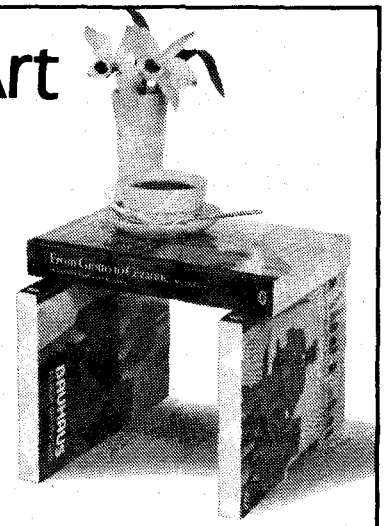
"One of the most important books to come out of South Africa of the 1980s."
—J.M. Coetzee

Harper & Row

Maps, Index.
At bookstores or call toll-free (800) 638-3030. Major credit cards accepted.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

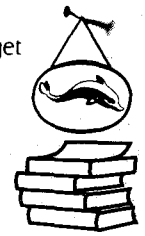
The World of Art Library is for people with big minds and small coffee tables



There are lots of big sumptuous art books around. At big sumptuous prices. Though they may satisfy the eye, they often leave your mind hungry.

If you're hungry to know more about almost any aspect of art, the World of Art has a book for you. In fact, we have over sixty titles on artistic genres, schools, techniques and individual artists. These are well-made, well-written paperbacks with lots of helpful illustrations.

Look at it this way: for $50.00 you get a feast for the eye; for $9.95 you get a delicious meal for the mind.



The World of Art...for more than meets the eye

Published by Thames and Hudson Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 10110
Distributed by W.W. Norton. Please write for a free color catalogue.

Learn Spanish and French
the U.S. Foreign Service way!

Now you can learn to speak Latin American Spanish or French with the courses good enough for the U.S. State Department's Foreign Service Corps—the same ones they've created to teach their own overseas personnel.

You can be fluent in Spanish or French. That's right, *fluent!* You can be speaking with all the confidence of a seasoned traveler in a matter of weeks. As well-versed in your new language as if *you* worked for the Foreign Service Corps—because that's exactly whom you'll be learning from.

The Foreign Service Institute has carefully developed, tested, and refined its language courses to train the U.S. State Department's overseas personnel quickly, thoroughly, and effectively. The clear, easy to follow approach and arrangement of material makes this a perfect method for self-instruction.

Now the FSI's complete self-instructional audio cassette courses are available to *you*. We will send you the entire Department of State audio cassette series and instruction books—the same ones you've seen advertised at much higher prices — to lead you step by step to fluent Spanish or French in weeks. You work when and where you can, at your own pace, following the taped lessons. You progress according to the schedule *you* establish.

Both courses use native speakers exclusively so that you hear exactly how each word, sentence, and conversation should sound. It won't be long before you start speaking and thinking in your new language. **These programs have to work—our State Department depends on them!**

MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE: try the FSI course of your choice for three weeks. If you are not completely satisfied, return it for a full refund. **There's no risk and no obligation, so order today!**

pinnacle *"The best way to learn a language."*
Dept. 541, 215 E. 79th St., New York, N.Y. 10021 (212) 863-8390

Please send me the following course(s) shipped in attractive library albums.

☐ Enclosed is my check or MO for $_____ (In NY add sales tax.)
Charge my: ☐ MC ☐ Visa ☐ Amex ☐ DC No. _____ Exp. Date

☐ **Programmatic Spanish—Vol. 1 Basic:** 11 cassettes (16 hrs.) manual and 464-page text. **$100**
☐ **Programmatic Spanish—Vol. 2 Intermediate:** 8 cassettes (12 hrs.) manual and 614-page text. **$90**
☐ **Both Volumes for Only $180.**
☐ **Basic French—Part 1:** 11 cassettes (16 hrs.); and 200-page text. **$100**
☐ **Basic French—Part 2:** 18 cassettes (25 hrs.); and 300-page text. **$125**
☐ **Both Volumes for Only $200.**

Signature_____ Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____

try would be run." Self-managed socialism at Ex-Yarur succeeded despite a U.S. parts blockade, depleted inventories and a host of other problems, because of innovations in production methods and technology which were made possible by the revolution from below.

At the beginning of the Allende regime the revolutions from above and below complemented each other: new democratic politics facilitated grassroots organizing, while rank-and-file activity increased leftist electoral support. But as the class struggle intensified, traditional elite politics became increasingly divorced from the needs of the rank and file, ultimately creating paralysis at the top and disorganization at the bottom, and providing fertile ground for the coup which ensued. In October 1972, employers organized a general lockout, during which the Yarur workers played an important role in helping neighboring factories. After that, in the face of national economic dislocation, their enterprise was barely able to survive. The debilitating effects of the revolution-from-above strategy are dramatically illustrated by Winn's account of the Ex-Yarur workers trading "cloth for potatoes" by August 1973. On the day of the Pinochet coup, armed only with wooden staves, the workers were forced to abandon their factory before the military onslaught. In a succinct summary of the end of the "democratic road," Winn writes, "Allende's decision after October 1972 to rely on the pacifying power of the army, instead of on the revolutionary potential of the mobilized working class, would prove fatal to the Chilean revolution."

There are several minor flaws in this excellent book. Winn provides no hard data on the generational distribution of leaders and followers, though the notions of "youngsters" and "old-timers" play a central role in his discussion. He uses the idea of "dreams" in so many different contexts—to refer to past, present and future ideals, goals and practices—as to generate confusion. More substantially, in his detailed discussion of the Yarur experience he documents how workers' militancy influenced "middle-class" employees to move to the left—to unionize and support government policy. Yet in his subsequent general discussion of national politics he attributes the middle class's defection to the right to worker militancy, without providing any sound

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

evidence or explanation for this second, contradictory interpretation. Finally, the limits of building socialism in one firm are broached but never explicitly elaborated: this close-up study is rich in detailed information about workers' lives, but offers no framework for thinking about the possibilities of translating local popular power into a form of state rule. Nevertheless, these criticisms should not detract from this magnificent and much needed account of the most human and democratic phase of the Chilean road to socialism. □

A 1960s Paradise

STUART KLAWANS

GILBERT GREEN: The Real Right Way to Dress for Spring. *By Frederick Ted Castle. McPherson & Company. 241 pp. $16.95.*

The authentic experiences of the nineteen sixties will all be composed of memories that will be a little bit mistaken. —Frederick Ted Castle

Gilbert Green: The Real Right Way to Dress for Spring is Frederick Ted Castle's novel about 1968, set down in that year as fast as his fingers could type. It is both a rarity and an oddity: rare because it doesn't seem dated, and odd because it has only recently been published, by the small press McPherson & Company.

The novel's history is instructive. When he was 28 years old, flushed with joy at having finished his first novel, *Anticipation*, Castle went to Boston to show his new manuscript to friends. He discovered one of them reading a copy of *Glamour*; a headline on the magazine's cover read, "The Real Right Way to Dress for Spring." "I was suddenly overcome," Castle explains in a 1985 postface to *Gilbert Green*. "I thought that I could never hope to interest the readers of *Glamour*. . . . There and then I resolved to write a book to bridge the gap; I told everyone that I wanted to write a popular novel." In quick order, he produced a book full of "rock and roll music, poetry, sex, drugs, money and death," and was flabbergasted to find that publishers wouldn't touch it. To judge from the postface, he's still a little puzzled. Perhaps the opening lines of *Gilbert Green* will show a disinterested reader why the novel didn't make it with the *Glamour* market:

> Seriously now I want to start begin and speak of many things and everything as well as ever could or would be in a short form that goes as fast as I can write and wins a prize and loves the worth of women in its time and fights to lose and telephones, a number dialed, the answer humming in my ear, she is not there right now, goodbye.

And so forth. Castle couldn't help himself. He wrote about sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll, all right, but he did it like Gertrude Stein after a hash-brownies binge.

I go into this history not merely to congratulate McPherson & Company for undertaking what the big publishers wouldn't but also to suggest something of the qualities that have kept *Gilbert Green* fresh till 1986, something of the quirks of talent that enabled Ted Castle to turn 1968's events into slightly mistaken memories even while those events were going on. In a year that now seems like a dream, Castle wrote about the year as if it were a dream.

The title character, an artist famous mostly for being himself, is modeled partly on two real people and partly on the lyrics of a song by the Bee Gees, as performed by Gerry of Gerry and the Pacemakers. When you realize that one of the two real people behind Gilbert Green is Andy Warhol, you begin to understand how the novel reproduces that special oneiric muddle of 1968. The other real person behind the character of Gilbert Green is Ted Castle himself. Self-dramatization was also big that year.

Most of the novel's first section is told from Gilbert Green's point of view, though it would take a psychic to figure that out without prompting. There is prompting, of course. One of the earlier chapters lists the novel's faults:

> It is too unrealistic, i.e. there are no bad guys. It is too vague, i.e. you can't always tell what's going on. It is too clever, i.e. half the time you find out it was a dream. It is confusing to follow. There are no characters. The real people who are mentioned will sue us.

These comments come from Gilbert Green's friend and sometime partner

Stuart Klawans writes regularly about small presses.

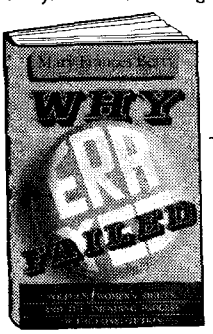
Why ERA Failed

Politics, Women's Rights, and the Amending Process of the Constitution

By Mary Frances Berry

". . . a balanced account of the ERA campaign providing much needed historical perspective and guidance for the future."
—Irene Natividad, *National Women's Political Caucus*

". . . a thoughtful and readable analysis of where the women's movement in America is today. It is *must* reading for anyone concerned about securing equal rights for all Americans."
—Jesse Jackson, *National Rainbow Coalition*



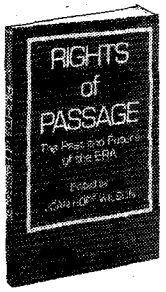
". . . a learned, provocative, and important book. . . . challenge[s] us to reconsider, regroup, and continue our efforts for decency and equal rights with ever greater intensity. A must read."
—Blanche Wiesen Cook

Everywoman: Studies in History, Literature, and Culture
$17.95 at bookstores

Rights of Passage

The Past and Future of the ERA

Edited by Joan Hoff-Wilson
Foreword by Arthur S. Link



The first attempt by social scientists to place the defeat of the ERA in historical perspective.

". . . the Equal Rights Amendment . . . will remain the symbol of the Second Women's Movement just as the suffrage amendment has been for the First Women's Movement."—(from the Introduction)

Published in Association with the Organization of American Historians

cloth $22.50 paper $6.95

INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS
10TH & MORTON STREETS
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47405

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISSATISFACTION GUARANTEED OR YOUR MONEY BACK.

At *The Nation*, we don't expect you to be dissatisfied with our magazine. Just with what it covers:

Public relations games that take priority over disarmament. Affronts to your intelligence by government spokespersons. Assaults on our values and freedoms by the Falwells of the world.

You'll get stirred up by the likes of Alexander Cockburn, Penny Lernoux and Stephen F. Cohen.

Then to agitate you even more, *The Nation* offers writing on the arts of such quality and style that it, too, gives you a lot to think about.

Of course, some people don't mind getting this worked up. If you're one of them, you may want to subscribe by filling out the coupon.

But be forewarned. Our guarantee is different from that of most magazines.

The Nation.
Subscribing to our principles isn't enough.

THE NATION
BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

YES! I'M READY TO BE DISSATISFIED. Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $15, a savings of a full 50 percent off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

NAME (Please Print)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ Double my savings. Send me a full year (47 issues) for $28.
☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
☐ Please bill me later.

Add: Canada and Mexico: $3.50/24 issues, $7/one year; Other Foreign: $6.50/24 issues, $13/one year. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8633

Fred, who is the narrator-collagist of the novel (and yet another version of Frederick Ted Castle). Fred intercuts his own memoirs with fragments written by Gilbert Green, tape recordings made by Green's wife, Susan, comments and fantasies written by Fred in Green's voice, and miscellaneous anecdotes. He thus produces a portrait of the famous artist, who is now dead. How Gilbert Green died (and when Fred will get around to revealing the story) becomes the novel's one element of suspense. Yet Gilbert Green remains lively enough even in the grave to add footnotes to Fred's text. To the self-criticism quoted above, Green adds, "It's hard to tell that most of this side is from my point of view, not yours," and comments, "I doubt that the real people will sue."

Certainly there are a lot of real people in the book. At one point, Susan goes on for a solid page dropping names. And an irritating page it is, too. "I might just as well have said that everyone was there," she concludes, with the serenity that comes from knowing that *everyone* amounts to Andy Warhol and his crowd. This seems to me to be perfectly 1960s, as does Gilbert Green's version of the world outside his circle: "We didn't have any idea up to that point that there was such a thing as a history that would actually concern us, we just thought, you know, a lot of different things happened at different times." Gilbert Green also writes up a version of the revolution, one in which the government simply loses power and bands of citizens join together under the pacific leadership of George Washington and Henry Ford.

Here, in short, is a 1960s paradise: a New York populated exclusively by your friends (who are all famous for their fifteen minutes), where your every act immediately becomes art and where the state, if you bother to think about it, is probably off someplace withering away. History has recently ended, and there is nothing left to do but play. Maybe my own memories of the 1960s are a little bit mistaken, but I recall a lot of us actually believed this stuff. Ted Castle renders that belief with visionary fidelity. (As he remarks in the novel, "This is not real, it is just true.") Castle also renders the loss of this paradise. As the novel progresses—though "progresses" may be too strong a word—Castle introduces the story of a character who seems like Gilbert Green's shadow. His name is Waring, or Wary, and he turns out to be Gilbert Green's doom.

Not that Wary intends any such thing. He begins as a beautiful young member of the downtown crowd, and Fred's lover. When Fred leaves Wary for the company of Gilbert Green and Susan (being infatuated with both), Wary takes to the road. He encounters people who will never be famous, not even for fifteen minutes. He runs up against nasty Chicago cops and fag-baiting bartenders. He falls in with a gang that does *not* think the revolution will be led by Pop Art cutouts of George Washington and Henry Ford. Waring is transformed, and when at last he meets Gilbert Green again, the result is tragic.

It's a curious kind of tragedy. Castle has set up a world where the artist, though martyred, can write winsome posthumous footnotes to his biography, a world where authentic events are unreliable memories and "half the time you find out it was a dream." In such a world, the only real tragedy is to wake up. What seems to me most extraordinary about *Gilbert Green*, more than the goofy humor and the sometimes startling turns of the plain-speech prose, more than the dead-accurate set pieces of 1960s dialogue and the insider's account of Andy Warhol's Factory, is Castle's success in making the reader feel that the climax *is* tragic. In the end, the real and the true of *Gilbert Green* coincide pretty neatly. Remember that Andy Warhol came close to being another of 1968's victims of assassination. I hope I show him no disrespect when I say his near murder was a small event compared to the death of Dr. King. Yet the death of Gilbert Green, when Fred finally got around to narrating it, gave me the sinking feeling you get when waking suddenly from a nightmare—or perhaps, in this case, waking *into* a nightmare. And one may be justified in willfully confusing the dream with reality. The stabbing of Andy Warhol took place a month *after* Ted Castle wrote the death of Gilbert Green.

Now, almost twenty years later, the book itself awakens like Rip van Winkle in the woods of upstate New York. It speaks of olden days and outmoded fashions, but its words sound fresh, its manner is lively. Granted, it cuts an odd figure among the rest of 1986's books. But *Gilbert Green* doesn't seem to have aged a day, and the stories it has to tell are marvelous. ☐

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FILMS.

ANDREW KOPKIND

The Fly
Aliens

We know ourselves by our summer hits. Despite its decline as the pre-eminent force in American popular culture, Hollywood still manages to define a certain mass sensibility in every leisure season. The biggest-grossing movies always mean more than the frames they project. There was the summer of teen-age sexual initiation, the summer of adventure fantasies, the summer of extraterrestrial encounters, the summer of historical and ideological revenge. Styles are set and fashions formed by favorite films. There was *The Breakfast Club* look, the *Rambo* stance, the *Indiana Jones* air, the *E.T.* bicycle brigade, the *Ghostbusters* slime craze. Pop sociologists had a lot to say about every phase, from post-imperial *Weltschmerz* to preadolescent narcissism, but by and large the semiotics were as banal as boy-meets-girl, or vet-kills-gooks. It doesn't take much analysis to see what's bothering a society when all the action takes place in a galaxy far, far away.

This summer's two big grossers, in every sense of the word, present a somewhat more interesting problem. Both David Cronenberg's update of *The Fly* (1958) and James Cameron's pluralizing sequel to *Alien* (1979) are high-tech horror thrillers that practically spill slime off the screen onto the audience. Those who stay through to the end of the movies (there have been large-scale walkouts from *The Fly* in particular) squeal and scream so expressively that the reaction becomes an important part of the experience, like the responsive reading to *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*. When I saw *The Fly* at my neighborhood mall octuplex, one of our party fled at the first sign of gore, a simple wound on the arm of a minor character which hardly hinted at the truly disgusting scenes to come. Nevertheless, her departure, for a domestic comedy with no special effects in Cinema 7 next door, sent an unexpected shiver through our row and raised considerably the probability of general nausea down the road. This, I suppose, is what most people go to the movies for, these days.

But along with the undoubted thrills in both films comes an iconography that seems cannily constructed to coincide with current neuroses. In *Aliens* the heroine, Ripley (Sigourney Weaver), fights off a grotesque she-monster who has infected a colony of earthlings with deadly spores and is threatening the life of the last child. In *The Fly* the hero, Seth Brundle (Jeff Goldblum), is genetically spliced with a common *Musca domestica* to truly horrible effect. In both cases technology, science and modern life-styles have put mere mortals at risk in ways they never imagined, and in fact refuse to believe for long stretches of the film. ("How can they cut the power?" a macho marine in the commando raid on the beleaguered colony in *Aliens* exclaims. "They're *animals*!")

The men in these movies are either scoundrels and failures or self-absorbed incompetents. In *Aliens* an advanced version of the contemporary corporate yuppie gets Ripley, under false pretenses, to go back to alien country, whence she once narrowly escaped uninfected with her pussycat. The armed forces accompanying her are impossibly Rambonctious or pathetically cowardly, with the exception of one terrific Hispanic she-marine. There is one brief moment of sexual tension between Ripley and an officer, but there's no time to fool around. It is left for Ripley to slay the infecting dragon and, most importantly, to save the child. It's good mother against evil mother through womb, tomb and darkest space, until the very last minute.

In *The Fly*, Brundle mistakenly recombines himself with an insect in a fit of adolescent pique over the temporary departure of his girlfriend, Veronica Quaife (Geena Davis). She soon returns to his loft, but all is not as it was in their relationship. When she notices the first signs of abnormal behavior and the growth of peculiar hairs on her beloved, he maintains that something wonderful has happened to give him super sexual strength and the feeling that he'd like to climb the walls, literally. She bugs out.

In the end both Ripley and Veronica overcome slime and destroy the offending agents of evil and hyperscientific hubris. On one level this looks like good feminist propaganda, and it has been taken as such. But maybe not. For it also has the smell of a hip sexual cop-out based on Marianist male fantasies of

The Poetry Center
of the 92nd Street Y

CALENDAR OF READINGS, 1986-87

		Single tickets*
September		
22	**Ted Hughes**, England's Poet Laureate	$10
29	**J.M. Coetzee**, South African novelist	$8
October		
6	**David Mamet & Horton Foote** discuss screenwriting	$8
20	**Gwendolyn Brooks** and **Robert Creeley**	$8
27	**Yehuda Amichai** (simultaneously translated into sign language)	$8
November		
3	**Fernando Arrabal**	$8
10	**P.D. James** and **Nicolas Freeling**, English mystery writers	$8
17	**August Wilson** and **Reinaldo Povod**	$8
24	**Robertson Davies**	$10
December		
1	**James Merrill** and **William Alfred**, verse dramatists	$8
8	**Linda Hunt** reads **Emily Dickinson**	$10
15	**Wallace Shawn** and **Christopher Durang**	$8
January		
5	**Ian Frazier** and **Veronica Geng**, *New Yorker* humorists	$8
12	**Buchi Emicheta**, Nigerian novelist	$8
19	**Anthony Hecht**	$8
26	**Daryl Hine** and **Alfred Corn**	$6
	Three Evenings of Letters by Prominent Literary Figures Read by Contemporary Authors:	
February		
2	The 18th Century, Chosen and Cast by **Christopher Ricks**	$8
9	The 19th Century, Chosen and Cast by **Phyllis Rose**	$8
23	The 20th Century, Chosen and Cast by **Grace Schulman**	$8
March		
2	**Gerald Stern** and **Garrett Kaoru Hongo**	$6
9	**Arthur Miller**	$8
16	**Howard Nemerov** and **J.D. McClatchy**	$8
23	**Salman Rushdie**, Indian novelist	$8
30	**Parker Huang**, Chinese poet	$6
April		
6	New translation of the *Iliad* performed by its author, English poet **Christopher Logue** and a leading actor	$8
27	**1987 "Discovery"/*The Nation*** Poetry Contest Winners	$6
May		
4	**Keri Hulme**, New Zealand novelist	$8
11	**May Swenson** and **Henri Cole**	$8
18	**John Guare** and **Stephen Sondheim** discuss lyric writing	$10

**A Poetry Center membership at $70 costs just a third of combined single ticket prices for the events listed above! To join, please write or call The Poetry Center of the 92nd Street Y, 1395 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10128, (212) 427-6000, extensions 176 or 208. To charge a Poetry Center membership to a major credit card, please call the Y-CHARGE number, (212) 996-1100.*

The 92nd Street YM-YWHA is an agency of UJA-Federation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Spanish at the Taller

"If you think language is for people to communicate, if you think grammar should help you to understand the language and not alienate you from it, and if, above all, you think language can be fun, informal and even irreverent . . . then, you must have studied Spanish at the Taller." —Grace Paley, author

Classes start the week of Oct. 13

Intensive Classes:
Morning Classes $175
4 mornings a week/4 weeks/32 hours
Evening Classes $150
2 nights a week/4 weeks/24 hours

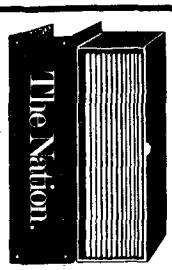
Once-a-Week Classes: $135
3 hours a week/8 weeks/24 hours

Saturday Classes:
Spanish $150
10am to 2pm/4 weeks/16 hours
Portuguese $125
10:30am to 1:30pm/4 weeks/12 hours

levels: beginner, intermediate

Taller Latinoamericano

(The Latin American Workshop, Inc.)
19 West 21 Street
New York, NY 10010
(212) 255-7155



SAVE THE NATION

Organize and protect your back copies in Nation cases or binders, covered in red leatherette with a gold Nation logo. 1 case or 1 binder holds 6 months (1 volume) of The Nation.

Cases $7.95, 3 for $21.95, 6 for $39.95.
Binders $9.95, 3 for $27.95, 6 for $52.95.

Mail to: The Nation, Jesse Jones Industries, Dept. N, 499 E. Erie Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19134

I would like ____ cases; ____ binders

Enclosed is my check for $_____. Add $1 per unit postage/handling. Outside U.S. $2.50 per unit.

Major credit cards accepted for orders over $15. To charge call toll free 1-800-972-5858.

Name _____

Address _____
(NO P.O. BOXES PLEASE)

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Payment in U.S. funds. PA residents add 6% sales tax. Satisfaction guaranteed.

female salvation. What men want—the persistent theme of men's movies—is a woman, preferably beautiful, maternal and virginal at the same impossible time, to bail them out of bad situations.

The situations here are the sexually transmitted diseases and reproductive disorders, hardly very well disguised as dramatic devices, that have caused panic in the land. AIDS springs to mind early on in both movies, but that is not the half of it. The panic began with herpes and chlamydia and impotence and Heaven knows what else, and it grows as well out of the inability of most men to understand the real existential and political importance of choice in the debate over abortion. Both movies can be read as anti-sex and anti-abortion, or at least as pro-motherhood in the traditional sense and pro-sex in the old-fashioned way. It may be just coincidence, but the big song and the big movie of the summer both proclaim, "I'm keeping my baby."

Semiotics aside, Cronenberg (cf., *Scanners*, *Videodrome* and *The Dead Zone*) and Cameron (*The Terminator*) have done bang-up jobs in the action-horror genre. The original *Alien*, directed by the esteemed Ridley Scott, may have had more integrity and cinematic imagination, but the sequel keeps you on the edge of the seat and gets you cheering at the end. Even if she is a male-defined fantasy, Sigourney Weaver is inspiring as Ms. Rambo, with a nurturing touch and a heart as big as an asteroid. *The Fly* is even better moviemaking, with slime used as the ground against which a pair of offbeat figures slide. Veronica Quaife and Seth Brundle are bound to be the couple of the year, metamorphosis or not, and Cronenberg deserves an Oscar for their names, if nothing else. □

LETTERS.

(*Continued From Page 234*)

of Palestinians rotting and tortured in Israel's jails, but I haven't noticed Radosh being "moved" by their accounts, or taking the risky course of challenging the U.S. propaganda machine on Israel. Radosh's idea of taking a courageous intellectual stance is to submit to *The Washington Post* an article saying his uncle wasted his life defending the Spanish Republic during the Civil War.

Did Radosh have anything interesting to say about the Valladares case? No. He believed everything the man wrote in his book and everything he told him in mid-July. He seems to have made no effort at independent verification. A man who is reduced to citing Nat Hentoff as evidence for anything is hard up for facts. I have more respect for Aryeh Neier, but his article on Cuba in *The New York Review of Books* for July 17 was a shoddy effort, appropriate to that shoddy journal, short on data and replete with unsubstantiated hyperbole. My main feeling on reading it was that those in the human rights "community" who have retained even a modicum of principle about Nicaragua have decided to make Cuba the sacrificial goat, denouncing it just to show they are not soft on communism. In such tactical maneuvers truth is an active inconvenience.

Earl Shorris's letter has one interesting speculation, but I found the arch travelogue about the Cuban mission puzzling. Anyone can hype up a meeting, even a meal with Big Vic ("Navasky twinkled amiably. We chatted about real estate. Then, when the matter of who should pay for lunch came up, his manner changed abruptly. With cold eyes . . ."). I think Shorris, who was fairly nasty about Valladares's book in *The Nation*, now senses a messy fight and is taking his distance with a lot of irrelevant pirouettes about his little investigative trip.

So what about Valladares and his book? After reading the memoir carefully, along with documents released by the Cuban government, here's how I see the issues.

Was he a cop under Batista? (Radosh, not I, uses the words "secret police.") In his book Valladares says that he wasn't and that the police I.D. is forged, since it says his eyes are brown, not black; gives his height metrically, even though these measurements were expressed in feet and inches in prerevolutionary Cuba; and indicates an incorrect birth date, 1936 instead of 1937. Valladares misrepresents the I.D.'s datum on his eyes. It simply says that they are dark. And he is misleading about the feet and inches too. Yankee imperialism had sufficiently saturated Cuba for shopkeepers to express measurements in feet and inches, but official Cuba, including the army and the police, has been on the metric system since 1860. As far as the birth date is concerned, there are three possibilities: the Cubans forged it; Valladares misrepresented it in 1957 when he applied for a job, precisely because he was underage; or the typist made a mistake. As someone who had problems at frontiers for years because his passport said "name officially emended to Cockburn," on account of a lax policeman in Youghal, who typed my entry form as "Cockborn," I know this theory is not as specious as it may sound. Shorris talks about a birth certificate. It is, in fact, an affidavit to his birth date, issued in September 1957, a month before Valladares applied to join the police and would have been accumulating the necessary papers. As regards the contentious word in that affidavit, Shorris is correct in saying that the number has been typed over. But this is less conclusive of forgery

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than he thinks. If the forger had been simply whiting out *siete* and substituting *seis*, why would the *e* have been left in? In the famous *seis*, there is no sign of the remnants of a *t*. Shorris fails to mention that many words in the document vary in shade, as is common with manual typewriters. Some words have been typed over and there are some typographical errors, which can be attributed to malign or innocent carelessness, as one's tastes dictate.

In the police file are documents concerning Valladares's entry into the police in October 1957, a photograph of the young man in uniform, service reviews and a final settlement of wage claims. The last of the service reviews is dated February 17, 1959, and inclines me to think that the documents are genuine and that Valladares was a cop. This review took place right after the revolution, as the new lot started going through the files. Now, if we are to assume forgery, we must ask ourselves why the Cubans would have gone to all the trouble, through many documents, of faking a police career for Valladares and then concocting a final 1959 appraisal by their revolutionary predecessors showing that Valladares had a pretty decent record. Under "Observations" the document attests that he wasn't a deserter, didn't drink, do dangerous drugs (*drogas heróicas*) or act crazy. A post-1959 forger—let's say one working in the 1980s—would have been interested in showing him to be a torturer and a beast, like Armando Carratala, the man who recommended him for a police career in the first place.

As it is, the new lot went through the records and decided to give Valladares a pink slip. Radosh is entirely wrong in saying that if Valladares had been a Batista cop he would have been shot. In the first revolutionary tribunals about 500 of the most notorious and brutal were executed. Thousands of others, in various branches of police work right down to the traffic cops, either got peaceably retired or held their jobs. Valladares moved on to a relatively unimportant job in the Postal Savings Bank.

So in my opinion the evidence shows that Valladares in all likelihood was in the Corps of Investigation, to translate the Spanish words literally, but as it turns out, this portion of his career does not seem to have done him any discredit.

But the next phase of his career may well have been discreditable, and Valladares is remarkably coy about it. His book proposes that he was sentenced to thirty years in jail just for making disloyal remarks about Castro to his fellow workers. Cuban newspapers of December 30, 1960—both *Revolucion*, then under the direction of Carlos Franqui, and *El Mundo*—have headlines and stories (whose physical simulation is beyond the forger's art, as I'm sure Earl Shorris will agree) that report the arrest of seventeen people in a counterrevolutionary plot, of which there were many at the time, involving the planting of bombs, including some in Eden cigarette packets, in public places. These stories say that Valladares and his fellows, some of whom were released shortly thereafter, were arrested on December 27 as the result of a tip. There are only the vaguest references to this in Valladares's book, since charges of proposed bomb-planting in public places fit ill with the picture of the persecuted poet. Another document, for January 17, 1961, records Valladares's sentence of thirty years, describing him as "de raza blanca,—natural de Pinar del Río de 23 años de edad, soltero, empleado, ex-vigilante de la Policía Nacional." The fact that this document laconically describes him as an ex-policeman of 23 would force the forgery school of critics to argue that the forgery plot began back in 1961. And if it is argued that this document is forged, why would the counterfeiters have put his birth in 1937, having just supposedly forged another document putting it in 1936?

So I think Valladares was arrested and jailed as part of a counterrevolutionary gang planning to plant bombs.

What about his book? In my view Valladares, like many other people who have had the misfortune to spend many years in prison and who are understandably determined to get some revenge, took everything that happened to him, everything that happened to others, every story or rumor he'd ever heard about prison life, rolled them into one and said that they were his personal experience. The book's time scales are screwed up. He gets important facts wrong. I don't believe a word of many of the stories, including the one about the little boy thrown into an adult prison. Indeed, I'm not convinced that Valladares was paralyzed in prison. To explain how he arrived in Spain a fit man, he has a long story in his book about compulsory physical rehabilitation. But Valladares's word has to be measured against that of one of Cuba's leading neurosurgeons, Dr. Rodrigo Alvarez, a man of world renown, who asserts that not only he but a team of professors and doctors examined Valladares exhaustively and concluded that he was a "simulator."

I don't think Cuba today has thousands of political prisoners being tortured. I'm sure there are brutal jailers in Cuba, as there are in every country, but I do not think there is any institutionalized torture in Cuba, any more than there is in Nicaragua. And, in either case, I don't think that any persuasive evidence has been advanced to show that there is. Cuba deserves censure for not being open to human rights organizations, but, then, Cuba has some pretty substantive reasons for being mistrustful of the political navigation system by which some of these organizations are operating in the new cold war. The propaganda campaign against Cuba, energetic since January 1959, has reached ludicrous heights in the past six years, and the commotion over Valladares is a good illustration of that campaign in action.

Alexander Cockburn

Fortunata and Jacinta

Two Stories of Married Women

Benito Pérez Galdós

Translated by Agnes Moncy Gullón

"A masterpiece patterned on Balzac and Dickens. . . . This new translation of Spanish novelist Pérez Galdós's 19th century tale depicting society during the Alfonsine restoration of 1875 provides a read that is startlingly fresh and immediate. . . . A vast, savory novel in the great tradition, this is not to be missed"—*Publishers Weekly*.
$25.00

The Aesthetics of Power

The Poetry of Adrienne Rich

Claire Keyes

Tracing Adrienne Rich's emergence as a leading voice of radical feminism, Claire Keyes draws a portrait of a poet who, reacting to the complex political and social climate of post–World War II America, generated a new vision of transforming, beneficent, female power. $22.50

The University of Georgia Press

Athens, Georgia 30602

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVENTS.

PUZZLERS' PARTY

Meet **Frank W. Lewis**, creator of The Nation's crossword puzzle.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 5 TO 7 PM

New York City

For invitations and directions call Nancy Bacher at (212) 242-8400.

An exhibit of paintings by

DAVID ACKER

OCTOBER 6 TO NOVEMBER 6

The College of William & Mary
Andrews Hall Gallery
Williamsburg, Virginia

8 pm to 5 pm, daily

PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Palestine and Justice: The Next Phase

FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19 AND 20

Speakers: Rev. Allan Boesak, World Alliance of Reformed Churches; Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General; Dr. Eqbal Ahmad, Institute for Policy Studies; Noam Chomsky, M.I.T.; Gideon Spiro, Israeli anti-occupation activist, and others.

For more information contact PHRC Conference, 220 So. State Street, Suite 1308, Chicago, IL 60604 (312) 987-1830.

A McCarthy Era Classic
SALT OF THE EARTH

SEPTEMBER 25, 8:30 PM

GWU Marvin Center
800 21st Street NW, Washington, DC

1953 labor classic, blacklisted in the United States, but acclaimed abroad. Followed by discussion with producer Paul Jarrico.

$4 donation, $2 low income. Tickets available at Common Concerns bookstore or at the door.

Co-sponsored by DSA DC/Md and GWU Hillel. For information call (202) 393-0433.

EVENTS PLACEMENT FORM

Information

$20 per ½ inch. 1-inch minimum.

Discounts: 2nd run 40% off.
Contact The Nation for long-term contract discounts.

Typesetting: We typeset all event ads.
Logos/artwork can be incorporated for an extra charge of $10.

Deadline: Wednesday, 17 days before cover date.

Placement

Enclosed is a check* for:

____$40 for a 1-inch ad
____$60 for 1½ inches.
____$80 for 2 inches.
____$____for____inches.

*Estimate size by comparing your ad to recent event ads.

Organization: _____

Address: _____

_____

Phone: _____

Clip form, attach ad copy and send to The Nation, Events, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

Event ads are also accepted over the phone, at (212) 242-8400, ext. 26.

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement that we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation *wishes its readers to know: a) we do not have the facilities to check out the promises made by our advertisers; and b) we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

APARTMENT AVAILABLE

ARTIST'S LIVE-IN LOFT. In Park Slope section of Brooklyn near Gowanus canal. 1,400 sq. feet. Recently refurbished; living area with kitchen and bathroom; large studio with storage racks. Top floor of 3-story building with northern exposure. Ideal for single artist. $55,000. Call Randall (work) (212) 242-8400, ext. 44 or (home) (212) 534-3309.

ROOMS FOR RADICALS. Share large Long Island house. Single or couple. Child O.K. Private bath. Washer/dryer. $400. (516) 867-1802.

APARTMENT DESIRED

CRISIS CONTINUES!

The Nation's associate publisher most recent casualty

My home in Greenwich Village has been taken over by new owner. Would appreciate any leads for an apartment—studio or single—preferably in the Village but would consider anything on the East Coast. Call David Parker at The Nation (212) 242-8400.

NEW IN TOWN. Quiet, responsible Nation intern seeks moderately priced share or sublet. Temporary housing O.K. Send any information to The Nation, Box EJS, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, or call Emily Sack (212) 242-8400.

ART

ART
Buying and selling
Social Realist paintings,
drawings and watercolors
from the New Deal Era

Janet Marqusee Fine Arts Ltd.
By Appointment
New York City, in the mid-60's, off Madison Avenue.
212-744-4070
Mail
P.O. Box 851, Lenox Hill Station, New York, NY 10021

BOOKLETS

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET PROVES JESUS NEVER EXISTED!

Conclusive proof Flavius Josephus created fictional Jesus, authored Gospels. AMAZING but **ABSOLUTELY INCONTROVERTIBLE!** Send $4 to Abelard Reuchlin Foundation, Box 5652-B, Kent WA 98064. SASE for details.

BOOKS

REVEALING portraits of Arik Sharon, Meir Kahane. Free catalogues: Adama Books, 306 W. 38th Street, New York, NY 10018.

INTERESTED IN CHINA? Send $1 for 40-page catalogue of books from China, about China. In English. Travel, literature, learning Chinese, arts, acupuncture. Our 27th year. China Books, Department MN, 2929 24th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110.

CLOTHING

MAYAN CLOTHES & CRAFTS. 100% natural fiber, vibrant colors, free catalogue: One World Trading Co., Dept. B., Box 90, Summertown, TN 38483, (615) 964-2334.

COUNSELING

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 19 years experience, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Insight-oriented and analytic. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity, New York City. (212) 582-5508.

EDUCATION

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

Four hours of classes daily, meetings with political leaders, family living and community work. Monthly entry dates.

Casa Nicaraguense de Espanol. 853 Broadway, Room 1105, New York, NY 10003. (212) 777-1197. Spaces still available for 8/25 & 9/22 classes.

INDIVIDUALIZED FRENCH language training. Specialized translation and interpretation services. New York City. Arlette Lurie. (212) 924-9552.

SAT SELF-STUDY COURSE

Help your high school student earn top scores on Scholastic Aptitude Test. 2 tutoring audio cassettes plus 380-p. book, $30.00 postpaid. Money-back guarantee.

AUDIO-FORUM® Dept. 270, Guilford, CT 06437

FILMS & VIDEOS

FOREIGN, CLASSIC, INDEPENDENT American films on video. Catalogues $1. Facets, 1517 W. Fullerton, Chicago, IL 60614.

FOREIGN NEWSPAPERS

WORLDWIDE ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS/MAGAZINES. Sampler: 4/$2.98. Free Brochure. Multinewspapers, Box DE-N8, Dana Point, CA 92629.

FOR THE COLLECTOR

HENRY WALLACE: original 1948 campaign flyer, "Wallace or Police State," etc. 8½ by 11, great for framing. Rare! $25 postpaid. Fred Dicker, Box 7313, The Capitol, Albany, NY 12224.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

FUND RAISING

PEACE, SAFE-ENERGY GROUPS—Raise money and spread the word. Sell Out of the Darkness, a record or tape featuring songs on peace and safe energy sung by Pete Seeger, Kate Wolf, Holly Near, Jesse Colin Young, many others. Sold to groups at bulk rates. For information write Box 3827, Berkeley, CA 94703 or call (415) 547-6696 from 1 to 5 pm.

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST CROSSWORD PUZZLES: brain-teasers by Frank W. Lewis, collected in Book 4. Send $4.50 ppd. to E.S. Lewis, 1620 Acushnet Avenue, New Bedford, MA 02746.

INSURANCE

RWP/SHAFFER ASSOCIATES
INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, NY 11021
718-895-7005, 516-466-4642

MERCHANDISE

Express your views. Striking bumper sticker. Artist-rendered, 2-color.
CENSOR TV EVANGELISTS
Send $3 and stamped, self-addressed envelope to: U-Speak, Box 02677, Portland, OR 97202.
Get 4 for $10 and spread the word faster.

NATION CASES AND BINDERS
Organize and protect your back issues of The Nation. Both cases and binders are covered in an attractive dark red leatherette with a gold Nation logo. 1 case or binder holds 6 months (1 volume).
Cases $7.95, 3 for $21.95, 6 for $39.95.
Binders $9.95, 3 for $27.95, 6 for $52.95.
Add $1 per unit for postage/handling.
Send order to: The Nation, Jesse Jones Industries, Dept N, 499 E. Erie Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19134
Major credit cards accepted for orders over $15.
To charge call 1-800-972-5858
Allow 4 to 6 weeks delivery.
Foreign orders add $2.50/unit. Payment in U.S. currency.
PA residents add 6% sales tax.

ABOLISH APARTHEID bumper stickers, $1. Free catalogue. Socialist Party Favors, Box 8211-N, Des Moines, IA 50306.

ORGANIZATIONS

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

WOULD YOU LIKE to be more closely involved with The Nation? Join The Nation Associates and get behind the scenes at America's oldest weekly journal of opinion. Call Nancy Bacher (212) 242-8400.

PERSONALS

PERSONALS ADVERTISERS
A Nation box number and weekly forwarding service is available for a one-time $5 charge added to the cost of your classified ad.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS for all cultured singles, 3,000 members. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write Box 117, Gradyville, PA 19039 or call (215) 358-5049.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible, peace-oriented singles, all areas. Free sample: Box 7737-A, Berkeley, CA 94707

NYC FEMALE, life loving, professional, culturally active, seeks compatible middle-aged man to share companionship. Nation Box 116.

NEW TO NYC, SWF professor, 45, desires interesting companion for travel, friendship, caring. Nation Box 112.

ATTRACTIVE, EXTRAORDINARY woman, 57, living in Manhattan, seeks previously married cosmopolitan man 60 to 75 for companionship. Nation Box 119.

ATTRACTIVE IN BODY and soul. DWF late 30s, well traveled, well educated, seeks sensitive, unmarried WM with social conscience, warmth and spirit. Friendship and hopefully more. POB 1826, Canal Street Station, NYC 10013.

SOUTH AMERICAN SOCIALIST socialite—NYC, divorced mom of one, slim and lively. Works in development aid and longs for attractive man, 30s, of exquisite upbringing and education, progressive ideas, cheerful personality and well-paid job. For a lifetime partnership, joy and maybe more children. Please write. Box 1861 Madison Square Station, New York, NY 10159.

LEBANESE-AMERICAN DEMOISELLE, francophone. Artistic, intellectual, international interests. Invites entrepreneurs, 35 to 50, for partnership, joie de vivre. Nation Box 121.

ECLECTIC L.A. MAN wants woman, 35 to 50, for dates, hikes and stuff. Open to committed relationship. Westside. Nation Box 123.

WOMAN IN HER SIXTIES would enjoy having a man add counterpoint and harmony to her solo September Song. Nation Box 125.

HOBBIT SEEKS MATE. Hairy-footed hippie WJM, Nation employee with good vibes seeks elvish princess 25 to 35 for nonstop adventure and romance. Nation Box 120.

I KNOW THERE ARE plenty of great men in Chicago, but somehow we haven't met. I'm 30, successful, friendly, and in love with Alexander Cockburn, but I'll give him up for you. Nation Box 126.

WIDOW, INTELLECTUAL, PROFESSIONAL, feminine, longtime Nation subscriber would like to meet unattached male of similar caliber in his early sixties, Philadelphia. Nation Box 128.

SIXTIES PEACE ACTIVIST, yoga, seeks attractive counterpart for collaboration on dramatic film script to neutralize Rambo. (201) 367-4107. Nation Box 129.

PERSONALS

BOSTON AREA. I am a loving, hardworking, funny and pretty 26-year-old woman interested in friendship (maybe more) with a compassionate man who has a sense of humor. Nation Box 130.

ST. LOUIS DWF, 38, PH.D., academic, pretty, seeks suitable man also seeking joyful committed relationship. Nation Box 131.

ATTRACTIVE, ENERGETIC, PERIPATETIC, literate mature woman seeks man she can like as well as she likes herself, or almost. Nation Box 127.

To place a personal ad complete the classified order form on the next page. Discount for Personal ads postmarked by September 30: pay for your ad to run in 2 issues and we will run it a third time free.

If responding to a Nation box number send replies to: Nation Box _____, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

PHOTOGRAPHY

EDITORIAL, RESEARCH, documentary, legal—for your book, article, project. 25 years experience. Member ASMP. Roger B. Smith (716) 442-4388.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that educates on legal aspects of nuclear arms policy and arms control. Responsible for organizing conferences, fundraising, and coordinating research, writing and advisory programs. Primary spokesperson for the 700-member national organization.

An international law background and fundraising experience are preferred. Salary range: $23-25,000. Apply by October 1 to Alex Miller, Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, 225 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012, (212) 334-8044. Send resume, writing sample, and law school transcript if available.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, Fellowship Of Reconciliation, a 72-year-old religious pacifist organization. Responsible for general leadership, business and personnel management, and program activities in Nyack, New York. Past experience with board/membership organization and multiple staff necessary. Salary negotiable, fringe benefits. Minorities and women encouraged to apply. Deadline: December 1. Send resume to: Scott Kennedy, FOR, Personnel Committee, Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, National Capitol FREEZE Campaign. Extensive nonprofit management, leadership and local organizing experience required. Salary range $25-35,000 based on qualifications. Please submit resume and references ASAP to: Nuclear Weapons FREEZE Campaign, 220 I Street, NE, Suite 130, Washington, DC 20002. (202) 544-0880. Equal Opportunity, Affirmative Action employer.

CHILD CARE/HOUSEKEEPER. Mature, experienced, loving and responsible woman to care for 2 young children. Live in. Atlantic City, NJ area. Must have references. Start immediately. Please call (609) 927-1084.

GOVERNMENT JOBS $16,040-$59,230 per year. Now hiring. Call (805) 687-6000 ext. R-3596 for current federal list.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

Engineers, Technicians, Businesspeople, Computer Professionals, Mechanics, etc.,
NICARAGUA NEEDS YOU!
Volunteers are urgently needed for 2-week training and consulting positions in various governmental and non-governmental agencies. Trips leave every month. Please contact:
tecNICA, Dept. N, 2727 College Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94705 415-848-0292

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, Pacifica Foundation (dba: Pacifica Radio) Los Angeles, California.

Pacifica Radio, chief executive officer of oldest noncommercial radio, includes five major market FM stations, national/international news bureau, radio archives and program distribution services. Executive director is responsible for policy implementation, general oversight of the network, and is the principal spokesperson for Pacifica. Pacifica Radio is dedicated to peace and justice through the broadcast of diverse news and information, arts and culture.

Must have nonprofit management, fundraising skills and thorough understanding of the role of media in society. People of color and women are particularly encouraged to apply. Application deadline: September 30. Start date: January 1, 1987. Salary $28-30,000, plus benefits. Send resume to: Executive Director Search Committee, Pacifica Radio, 5316 Venice Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 90019.

ALTERNATIVE JOB/INTERNSHIP OPPORTUNITIES! Environmental, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Monthly nationwide listings, $9/6 issues. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 1105N, 1319 18th Street NW, Washington DC 20036.

PRESENTATION SERVICES

LOW-COST SLIDES will increase the effectiveness of your presentation. High quality computer-graphic slides, personal service. ComputerSlides (718) 858-6786.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $2 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

PUBLICATIONS

DOLLARS & SENSE, the progressive economics magazine for noneconomists. Current issue includes update on the service economy; Reagan and Thatcher: Bad for Business? One-year subscription $18. Sample $2. One Summer Street, Somerville, MA 02143.

Nation Special Issues

Catch up on the reading you missed.

1985 Special Issues: "Reflections on a Glass House: The U.N. at 40," "The Selling of Miss Liberty," "The Education Wars" and "Many Bhopals: Technology Out of Control," "Beyond Westmoreland: The Right's Attack on the Press."

Latin America Issues: "Latin America: a Political Guide," "El Salvador," and "Central America."

The 2 K.A.L. Issues: "K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew and When We Knew It" and "K.A.L. 007: Unanswered Questions."

Prices: $3 each. $2 each orders of 10 or more.

Send check/money order to The Nation, Reprint Dept., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. New York residents add appropriate sales tax.

COPIES OF THE HISTORIC 120th anniversary issue of *The Nation* are available from the New York office. The cost is $4 each, $2.50 each for 10 or more (postpaid). Send order to: The Nation, Attn: Anniversary Issue, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

FOOTNOTE ON AN HISTORIC CASE: IN RE ALGER HISS. *William A. Reuben identifies 114 factual errors in the Federal District Court of New York's 1982 decision upholding Hiss's conviction for perjury in 1950. This flawed decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1983, stands as the last legal word on one of the most celebrated cases in modern history. 1 copy $5, 10 copies $40. Make checks/money order payable to The Nation Institute and send to: "Hiss," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.*

REAL ESTATE

GOVERNMENT HOMES FROM $1. (U repair). Delinquent tax property. Repossessions. Call (805) 687-6000, ext H-3596 for current repo list.

RENTALS

NEW YEAR'S IN NEW YORK. Comfortable 1-bedroom apartment, Carnegie Hall/Columbus Circle area, available for 1-month vacation sublet, January. High floor, 24-hour concierge. Nation Box 124.

SERVICES

RESUME AND COVER LETTER *writing/editing service for recent college graduates. Nonprofit and business* resumes. (212) 677-3083.

SERVICES WANTED

WANTED: FEMINIST accountant to prepare individual tax return, preferably in Ithaca, New York. Call (716) 373-1891 evenings.

TRAVEL

NICARAGUA. People-to-people, one-week trip delegations from Los Angeles and San Francisco areas, or join us in Mexico City. Next departure October 17. Blase Bonpane leading. Information: Alice McGrath, Office of the Americas, 1227 4th Street, Santa Monica, CA 90401. (213) 451-2428.

UNUSUAL CRUISES: freighters, expeditions, minicruises, yachts, group discount trips. TravLtips, Box 188U7, Flushing, NY 11358.

JOIN EXCITING RUSSIAN Winter Carnival-Concert Tour. January 3-12, 1987. Department of Modern Languages, Slippery Rock University, Slippery Rock, PA 16057. (412) 794-7311.

T-SHIRTS

THE BILL OF RIGHTS T-SHIRT

First Ten Amendments to the Constitution screened on a Quality T-Shirt
WRITE FOR FREE CATALOGUE
CORONA GRAPHICS
DEPT. 10
395 RIVER ROAD
BOX 1084
E. LIVERPOOL, OHIO 43920

SPECIAL
2 For $13.95 PPD!
$9.95 Each PPD.
Red/White/Lt. Blue/Yellow
S/M/L/XL
Visa & MC

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates: $1 per word, 15-word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display: $45 per column inch.

Deadline: Wednesday, 17 days prior to Saturday issue date.

Discounts: Pay for 3 runs, get 1 more free. Pay for 7 runs, 3 more free. Pay for 15 runs, 10 more free.

To: THE NATION
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for ___ weeks, plus ___ weeks free.

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

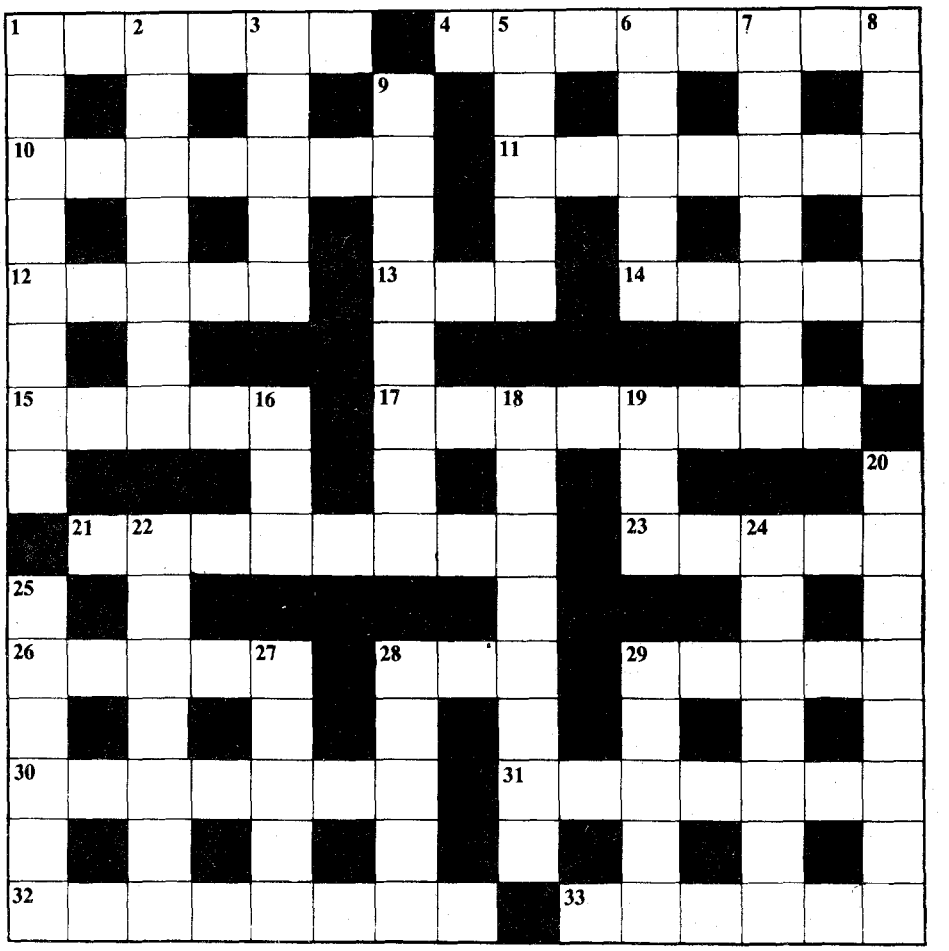
Payment must accompany order. **Payment in U.S. currency.**

RADICAL RAGS—The Nation T-shirt. Comfortable (100% cotton), sleek (white lettering on red or black T-shirt) and inexpensive ($8.95 each, includes UPS delivery). S,M,L,XL. Send order to *The Nation*, Radical Rags, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York NY 10011. New York State residents add appropriate sales tax.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 2117

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 4 Visitors along the Hudson might. (March here might be good if they do.) (4,2,3,5)
10 Makes mistakes, and inside they might be run. (7)
11 One might almost make this, if one shakes the cradle, though it has a firm foundation. (7)
12, 28 down and 13 Punctual and correct on the thing that might go with some dash. (5,2,3,3)
14 The smallest part of the whole, as this shows. (5)
15 In the Bible, stockings take a minor part of it. (5)
17 How one might swear it takes years to make what some baseball players are concerned with? (8)
21 What burnt things might leave, though in this such things are not done. (3,5)
23 Banner bearer of "Excelsior." (5)
26 Certainly not slow, though a drip is awkward. (5)
28 Proving it's at least all right around a tree. (3)
29 Nominally one of the most common trades? (5)
30 Certainly not found down on 12, but one might play on it. (7)
31 It's a rough mile, but the little brother comes inside to complicate things. (7)
32 Doesn't live around some of the waters of the earth, possibly due to morbid conditions of the body. (8)
33 One of the New York tombs, as one agrees. (6)

DOWN

1 and 25 One way to get rid of a growth. (One hopes the planes do.) (5,3,6)
2 Seeing as grime has to be cleaned up, one wouldn't expect to really see them. (7)
3 One of those things one might hold up, or down? (5)
5 Smoking jacket? (5)
6 It might be helpful in making the pianoforte. (5)
7 A kind of goose might take years to make it—subsequent to the one called stone. (4,3)
8 and 20 Cotton to smaller versions of the Catskills? (They say people sometimes do when they run away from things.) (4,2,3,5)
9 Fords might be utilized if one did. (Lots might have them.) (4,4)
16 Hill-dweller found in 33. (3)
18 Just so, the late Howard of films? (Keep on this, if 29 down.) (4,4)
19 A New York combine, possible—no specific one designated. (3)
20 See 8
22 Proving a certain amount of madness in what Cleopatra used with singular dispatch, as one hopes. (7)
24 Thurber wrote of the garden variety. (7)
25 See 1 down
27 The 3 of Pluto's mother, perhaps. (5)
28 See 12 across
29 Judgelike, as they sometimes say. (5)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

LOOKING FOR ATTENTION?

The Nation's classifieds work. They locate highly qualified job candidates, sell books and magazines, publicize counseling and legal services, promote travel programs. For under $20 you get the attention of *The Nation*'s 200,000 dedicated readers.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2116

R	O	B	I	N	S	O	N	C	R	U	S	O	E	
E		I		O		N		A		K		U		B
C	A	R	A	W	A	Y		R	E	A	L	T	O	R
K		D		A		X		R		S		P		A
O	R	D	A	I	N		N	I	N	E	F	O	L	D
N		O		T		B		E				S		
E		G	R	I	N	A	N	D		E	X	T	R	A
R				N		N		O		N				M
S	L	A	N	G		A	Q	U	A	T	I	C		P
		N				N		T		R		O		U
A	L	G	E	R	I	A	N		B	E	A	R	I	T
B		U		E		S		E		N		E		A
B	U	L	W	A	R	K		B	O	O	K	L	E	T
E		A		D		I		O		U		L		E
	P	R	E	Y	O	N	O	N	E	S	M	I	N	D

PUZZLERS' PARTY

Meet Frank W. Lewis at *The Nation* on September 29. For details call Nancy Bacher at (212) 242-8400.

MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

X-523

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

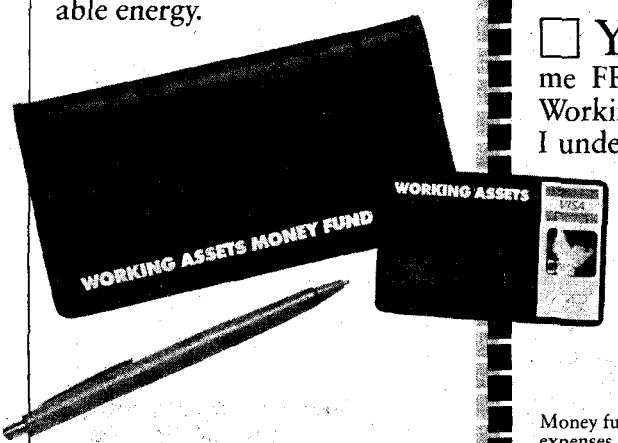
"I need my money to *work* for me, but I want it to *speak* for me, too.

That's why I use WORKING ASSETS."

WORKING ASSETS now offers two tools for practical idealists: one for the money you save . . . and one for the money you spend.

1. WORKING ASSETS MONEY FUND is America's largest *socially responsible* money fund—and the second fastest-growing of *all* money funds.[1] You get safety, free check-writing and market rate interest compounded daily—while your savings work *for,* not *against,* your principles.

Our money managers work hard to make sure your savings *won't* support apartheid, weapons, nuclear power or job discrimination. They put your dollars to work *for* things you believe in—like affordable housing, higher education, equal opportunity and renewable energy.



2. WORKING ASSETS VISA® charges lower interest (17½%) than major banks—while it helps stop the arms race, feed the hungry and clean up toxic wastes.

When you sign up for our Visa card, WORKING ASSETS donates $2 to non-profit organizations working for peace, human rights and the environment.

Then, every time you *use* your card, we contribute 5 cents to the same worthy organizations . . . *at no cost to you.*

At WORKING ASSETS, you get practical financial benefits without sacrificing your ideals.

Put this uncommon combination to work for you today. Call our toll-free 24-hour number or return the coupon for free information.

WORKING ASSETS

Assets now over $80 million

Tools For Practical Idealists

Call 800-543-8800 toll-free now.

WORKING ASSETS, 230 California Street, San Francisco CA 94111

☐ YES! I want my money to work and *speak* for me. Please send me FREE information about your tools for practical idealists—Working Assets Money Fund and Working Assets Visa® Card. I understand there is no obligation on my part and that I may use either service without the other.

Name

Address

City/State/Zip

Money fund kit includes prospectus with more complete information about management fees and expenses. Read it carefully before investing or sending money.

458

[1] *Forbes,* September 16, 1985. (General category.)

ETSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED